Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien

herausgegeben vom
Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens
an der Universität Hamburg

32

THE PRADYUMNA-PRABHĀVATĪ LEGEND IN NEPAL

A study of the Hindu myth of the draining of the Nepal Valley

by
Horst Brinkhaus

Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH
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PREFACE

The present work, composed originally in German, was submitted in April 1984 to the Department of Oriental Studies (Fachbereich Orientalistik) of Hamburg University as a Habilitationsschrift, and in July 1984 was accepted by that department as having met the requirements for habilitation. Since then the work has been supplemented by a number of subsequent findings and, largely in response to requests from various Nepalis, been translated for publication into English in order to make it more internationally accessible for interested parties.

The object of concern of the present study is the Hindu version of a basic myth of the Nepalese heartland around modern Kathmandu, namely the draining of the Nepal Valley,[1] which is connected with the Nepalese version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, a local counterpart to the better known parallel legend in the Harivaṃśa. The Nepalese version of this legend will be traced through literary history and its historical development reconstructed, to the extent the literary sources permit.

A large majority of the sources dealing with the named myth are located in literary works from Nepal which have hitherto remained for all purposes unanalyzed and in part unpublished, and so are largely unknown. Even the attempt to make a fairly complete identification of the source material runs into considerable difficulty in Nepal, since there recourse can be had to such usual aids as handbooks on literary history, catalogues, bibliographies etc. only to a very limited extent. One is dependent upon time-consuming searching and upon questioning local persons knowledgeable in Nepal's literary tradition. As a co-worker in the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) in Kathmandu in the years 1979-81, I had the opportunity to search out in the very place concerned the literary sources pertinent to the theme of the present study. Though I believe I have been able to put my hands on the large majority of extant texts dealing with that theme, one cannot of course exlude the possibility that this or that source may subsequently become known.

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[1] On the basis of the old name *nepālamaṇḍala* for the region of the present-day Kathmandu Valley (cf. Slusser 1982, vol. 1, p. 7), I use in the present study the designation 'Nepal Valley' when talking about the past of the present-day Kathmandu Valley as it is represented in old literature.

The literary sources to be dealt with concerning the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī narrative come from three quite different domains of Nepal's literary history, namely from the Paurāṇic Sanskrit literature of Nepal, from the vernacular dramas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, written in Maithili, Bengali, Hindi and Newari, and, finally, from the Nepalese chronicles (*vaṃśāvalī*) of the nineteenth century, written in Nepali and Newari. Due to the fact that, in the first place, a whole series of languages are involved and, secondly, that in several cases the resources available up to now meant to provide a working knowledge of them have left much to be desired, I was dependent upon the frequent services, generously granted, of native philologists. I owe special thanks to Mahes Raj Pant (Chief Research Scholar in the NGMPP) for having provided much information on Nepalese Sanskrit and Nepali literature, Dr. Ratneshwar Jha (Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu) and Govinda Jha (Maithili Academy, Patna) for help in the field of Maithili, Prem Bahadur Kasā (Kathmandu) for guidance in Newari and Rahul Peter Das (Hamburg University) for his help with Bengali.

Above all, however, I must thank Prof. Albrecht Wezler, who from the very beginning variously supported and furthered the work of the present study and, finally, accepted it for the series "Alt- und neuindische Studien".

Further, I am grateful to Philip H. Pierce for having taken upon himself, with a great patience and feel for the subject, the task of translating the work into English.

Finally, my thanks are due to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which, through a generous two-year habilitation stipend, made it possible for my work to be carried on in the yeare 1982-83 and which, moreover, bore the costs for the present publication.

INTRODUCTION

Geological investigations into the morphogeny of the high-lying valley of Kathmandu have revealed that about 3o,ooo years ago the valley basin was filled with a Pleistocene lake which later, at some undetermined point in time, drained away[2]. It is not, however, in spite of what local myths appearing as repositories of the valley's geological history would have us believe, likely to have been a deep, clear mountain lake but rather for the most part an extended marshland.[3] The drainage of the valley occurred, and still occurs today, in a southerly direction via the only river to leave the valley, the Vāgmatī (the modern Bāgmatī). All other rivers of the valley run into the Vāgmatī, which then, after first flowing still within the valley into a narrow, rocky gorge near the village of Cobhār (a few kilometers south of Kathmandu), finally leaves the valley another few kilometers further south through a deep cut in the mountain ridge marking the basin's southern boundary.[4]

In the historical period, as some of the older Nepalese literature dealing with local mythology shows, special significance was attributed within the Nepal Valley to the Vāgmatī. Both in the various Paurāṇic works of Nepalese Hinduism as well as in the Buddhist Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa a great deal of space is taken up by mythical narratives which either deal directly with the Vāgmatī or report particular events at places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) along its two banks. Probably the most well-known mythical narrative on the subject of the Vāgmatī is the legend of the draining of the Nepal Valley after having been formerly filled by a lake. How this coincidence between mythological tradition and geologically confirmed findings is to be explained will have to remain for the time being an open question. Were the lake to have dried up, say, only 5ooo years ago,[5] then

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2. Cf. in particular Yonechi 1973 and Boesch 1974.
3. Boesch 1974, p. 23.
4. Cf. the geographical representation of the Kathmandu Valley on p.392 .
5. Boesch (1974, p. 25) tentatively asserts that deposits approx. five thousand years old appear to have been found in the Nepal Valley, and that there also appear to be indications of an early Neolithic settlement in the valley.

perhaps even old oral tradition is not to be ruled out as a basis for the myth. But it is also possible that later observations from nature may have led to the conclusion that the valley was formerly flooded. In any case, as is to be shown in the course of the present work, the mythical narratives about the Vāgmatī refer again and again to actual geographic realities. A third possible explanation consists in the assumption that the drainage myth was adopted from the outside, i.e. from geographically neighbouring regions,[6] as such myths have also been handed down in several other valleys in and around the Himalayan region, for example, in Khotan, central Tibet and Kaśmīr.[7] In fact, there are indications that at least a portion of the drainage myths concerning the Nepal Valley have been adopted or at least influenced from the outside (cf. below). In the end, however, it should be recognized that the three named possibilities in no way exclude one another.

Nepalese tradition offers two fundamentally different mythological versions of the draining of the Nepal Valley: a Buddhist and a Hindu one.

The Buddhist version is found, in the older period, in the various Sanskrit and Newari recensions of the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa to have been handed down.[8] Later, in the nineteenth century, it was incorporated into chronicles compiled under Buddhist influence[9] and was commemorated in Newari folk songs,[1o] and it has remained alive in Nepal's narrative tradition up through the present.[11] The Buddhist version ascribes the draining of the

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6. The fundamental problem raised here is thereby, however, merely geographically shifted.

7. For Khotan cf. below, pp. 4 f.; for Central Tibet cf. Stein 1972, pp. 37f.; for Kaśmīr cf. Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī I,25-27 and Nīlamatapurāṇa 27-237.

8. Lévi (19o5, vol. 1, p. 21o) distinguishes five different recensions of the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa. My own investigations, undertaken in another connection, have revealed five different Sanskrit and three different Newari versions. For the drainage myth in the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa in particular, cf. Hodgson 1972, pp. 115f., and Mitra 1971, pp. 246ff.

9. Cf. Wright 1972, pp. 78f.; Hasrat 197o, pp. 5f.

1o. Cf. Lienhard 1974, songs 12 and 13.

11. In almost every publication dealing with the history of the Nepal Valley it is the Buddhist version of the drainage legend in particular which is cited as the myth of the valley's origin. Of the numerous narrative versions of the Buddhist legend to have appeared in recent years, two may be arbitrarily selected for mentioning: Lall 1966 pp. 13f.; Manandhar 1982, pp. 7-26.

valley to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who is said to have come from China to visit the Svayaṃbhū shrine, and upon this occasion to have split a mountain with the stroke of his sword in order to let the waters of the *kālīhrada* (Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa) or *nāgahrada* (chronicles) flow out of the valley.

The Hindu version of the drainage myth, on the other hand, though today decidedly not as well known and popular in Nepal as its Buddhist parallel, is nevertheless to be found in ever new forms among various kinds of works of older Nepalese literature, so that one may postulate for this Hindu version a living tradition in Nepal's past. In this version of the legend the damming up of the Vāgmatī is described as an imprisonment of the river (or river goddess) at the hands of demons (*daitya*); Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna ventures forth against these demons and overcomes them; and thereafter Kṛṣṇa himself sees to it that the Vāgmatī is freed, i.e. that the valley is drained. The object of the present study will be, in the following pages, to set forth and elucidate the historical development and transformation of this legend, which belonged originally to Vaiṣṇava tradition, but the earliest evidence for which has come down in Śaiva Paurāṇic works. The above-mentioned Buddhist version, on the contrary, will not be dealt with, so that something must be said in advance concerning the relation of each to the other.

The two briefly described versions of the legend, the Hindu one on the one hand and the Buddhist one on the other, though dealing with one and the same event in natural history, namely the drying up of the Nepal Valley, are nevertheless conceived in such a way as to be fundamentally different from each other in the form the myth takes. It is precisely the older sources of evidence found in Paurāṇic literature where any suggestion of mutual influence, let alone correspondence, in content is as good as lacking. A textual connection between the older Paurāṇic traditions of both sides, therefore, cannot be established. The question of whether the Buddhist or Hindu version is to be viewed as the older of the two must remain open, especially since the dates at which the Paurāṇic works of the two versions were composed are unknown. To be sure, a stimulus may have gone out from one of the two sides inducing the other to develop a drainage myth of its own; but this evidently did not occur in such a way that the one side took over the other's drainage myth, reforming and altering it to suit its own purposes.

In connection with the Buddhist version of the drainage legend of the Nepal Valley, it was shown by John Brough[12] in 1948 that this version exhibits agreement in certain elements with the mythological tradition surrounding the Khotan Valley, and that these common features are explainable as the transfer of narrative stock, originally conceived for the situation in Khotan, onto the conditions of the Nepal Valley. The Buddhist version of the draining of the Nepal Valley thereby goes back, at least in part, to a narrative tradition which came in from the north via Tibet, and which, after having been received in Nepal, was more or less accommodated to local conditions. It is still impossible to say to what extent borrowings from the outside and to what extent local developments may be postulated respectively, as investigations into the early history of this Buddhist myth (which will necessarily have to be closely connected with research into the various Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa recensions[13]) are still lacking. Let us assume for the moment hypothetically that the Hindu drainage legend is older than the Buddhist version and that the formation of the latter was stimulated by the former - an assumption which I, in distinction to S. Lienhard,[14] in no way take to be improbable -, then the demonstration that the Buddhist legend was adopted from the outside would explain the almost total lack of resonance with the Hindu version.

If I restrict myself in the following study to a treatment of the Hindu drainage myth and leave the Buddhist version for all practical purposes unexamined, then the reason for this is the provisional realization, obtained by a cursory check through the Buddhist source material, that it ought to prove nigh impossible, given the nearly total lack of similarities and correspondences, to establish a connection between the two versions. It is to be hoped that the Buddhist drainage legend will one day be submitted to a more careful historical study as a complement to the present investigation of the Hindu version. Afterwards, as a third step, the question of the rise of the two parallel legends in relation to one another could then be examined anew.

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[12] Brough 1948. Besides the literature named there cf. also Emmerick 1967, pp. 4-13.

[13] In my opinion, a general desideratum of research into the history of Nepalese Buddhism.

[14] Lienhard (1978, p. 164) considers it "more than probable" that the Hindu version is merely a rival imitation of the Buddhist one.

PART I

The draining of the Nepal Valley: the Nepalese version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend according to Paurāṇic sources

General observations on the principal Paurāṇic works of Nepalese Hinduism

The oldest accessible sources for the Hindu version of the drainage legend of the Nepal Valley are located in the three principal Nepalese works of Hindu Paurāṇic Sanskrit literature, which in general are devoted to exalting places of pilgrimage in the Nepal Valley, playing up their special religious significance with the help of narrations of mythological events associated with them. Even though these three Paurāṇic works should surely be deemed important pieces of evidence relating to the older mythology of Nepalese Hinduism, up to now scarcely any thorough investigations of the texts as pieces of literary history and their evaluation as sources of mythological and religious history have ever been attempted. Before, therefore, in the following pages individual sections of these works are dealt with in greater detail, there will first be prefaced a few general remarks concerning the Paurāṇic works as a whole, along with some technical information about the transmission of the manuscripts and about available text editions.

The three principal Paurāṇic works[15] of Nepalese Hinduism are

- a work which up to now has gone by the name either of *Vāgvatīmāhātmya-praśaṃsā* or *Paśupatipurāṇa*, concerning the actual extent of which uncertainty likewise exists; this work, which hereafter I refer to as *Paśupatipurāṇa* (PaśP), will be taken up in greater detail below;

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[15] Mention should at least be made of the fact that along with the three main Paurāṇic works of Nepalese Hinduism there exist smaller works of the same type, e.g. the *Luntikeśvarapurāṇa*, comprising hardly more than a hundred verses, and dedicated exclusively to Bālanīlakaṇṭha in Bālāju (= a suburb of Kathmandu); cf. *Bṛhatsūcīpatra* 1968, vol. 8, pp. 245f.

- a work called *Nepālamāhātmya* (NepM), which claims to belong to the *Himavatkhaṇḍa*, and so to the *Skandapurāṇa*, but which is not found in any known extant manuscript of the *Himavatkhaṇḍa*, it having come down exclusively in separate manuscripts;
- a second text called *Nepālamāhātmya*, which really does make up a large part of the *Himavatkhaṇḍa* (HimKh), namely adhyāyas 70-185, it being entirely different, however, from the above-mentioned NepM, which has been handed down separately.[16]

Hereafter, in order to distinguish clearly between the two texts called NepM, I use the designation NepM exclusively for the work which has been separately handed down, whereas the second text with this name I will throughout identify as a portion of the HimKh.

All three works named above have already been edited once, if not several times, and have been translated into one or more modern languages:

- The PaśP, insofar as it has come down to us, was published along with a Hindi translation in 1954 by Yogi Naraharinath.[17] A second text edition with a Nepali translation, appearing in 1972 as a publication of the Royal Nepal Academy,[18] is evidently based upon it.
- The text of the NepM was edited for the first time as early as 1901 by Pt. Murali Dhara Jha.[19] Two further editions are based upon it: the first, a text edition with Nepali translation, was published in 1971, again by the Royal Nepal Academy; the second, published in Benares, came out in 1976 together with a Hindi translation.[20] Let special note be taken here, however, of the "kritische Teiledition"

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16. The *Himavatkhaṇḍa*, too, only pretends to be a part of the *Skandapurāṇa*; in fact, it has also been handed down exclusively in separate manuscripts.

17. *Śrīmatpaśupatipurāṇam*: Pūrvārdham, ed. together with a Hindi translation by Yogi Naraharinath, Kathmandu: Bhīmaprasāda Upādhyāya, V.S. 2011.

18. *Paśupatipurāna*, ed. together with a Nepali translation by Madhusudan Risal 'Pradip', Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, V.S. 2029.

19. *Nepal Māhātmya from Skanda Purāna*, ed. by Murali Dhara Jha, Benares: Prabhakari, 1901.

20. *Nepālamāhātmya*, ed. together with a Nepali translation by Muktinath Khanal, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, V.S. 2028; *Nepālamāhātmyam of Skandapurāṇam*, ed. with 'Parvati' Hindi commentary by Kedaranatha Sharma, Varanasi: Caukhamba Amarabharati, 1976 (Chaukhamba Amarabharati Granthamala 10).

of the NepM with German translation by Helga Uebach.[21]

- A text edition of the HimKh with a Nepali translation by Yogi Naraharinath et al. came out in 1956.[22]

In the case of the NepM, I have restricted myself to using Uebach's text edition as the basis for my investigation. This seemed justified, as the text of this edition is provided with a critical apparatus, allowing one to follow the readings of the individual sources; this text edition by Uebach is based upon that of Pt. Murali Dhara Jha as well as upon two manuscripts, one of which is the oldest known dated NepM manuscript.[23]

The story is different with the editions of the PaśP and the HimKh. The PaśP edition of Yogi Naraharinath[24] is based on three dated manuscripts from the years 1504, 1679 and 1749, which according to the edition's preface contain many deviant readings; the edited text has been put together on the basis of these manuscripts.[25] As there is no critical apparatus, I was not able to infer from this edition the text of the oldest manuscript, which was unfortunately not accessible separately.[26] I have therefore drawn upon PaśP manuscripts that have been filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP).[27] The oldest dated PaśP manuscript in the archives of the NGMPP is unfortunately only a fragmentary

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21. *Das Nepālamāhātmyaṃ des Skandapurāṇaṃ,* ed. with a German translation by Helga Uebach, Munich: Fink, 1970 (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Reihe der Philosophischen Fakultät 8).

22. *Himavatkhaṇḍaḥ: Skandapurāṇamadhye*, ed. with a Nepali translation by Yogi Naraharinath et. al., Benares: Yogapracāriṇī, V.S. 2013 (Gorakṣagranthamālā 69).

23. We shall have occasion further below to consider more fully the date of this manuscript (cf. p.80).

24. The Royal Nepal Academy's second edition may be left out of consideration here, as it does not cite any sources, it being evidently based on the first edition of Yogi Naraharinath.

25. PaśP edition of Yogi Naraharinath, p. ii of the preface: *ukta pustakaharū-mā aneka pāṭhabheda cha so sabai milāī prakāśa bhaeko.*

26. Yogi Naraharinath (1953/54) has nevertheless published separately the colophons of the manuscript of 1504, from which one can see that at least all the adhyāyas to be discussed below were already then present.

27. The films, two positives from each of which have been made, are deposited in the National Archives in Kathmandu and in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.

Newari translation from the year 1592 (NGMPP No. A 264/5);[28] the oldest dated manuscript of a Sanskrit text is from the year 17o4 (NGMPP No. A 264/11). Both the manuscripts are located in the National Archives in Kathmandu, where, furthermore, a second, undated Sanskrit manuscript of the PaśP is stored (NGMPP No. A 264/1o). In order to have a fairly secure text as the basis for my study of the PaśP, I first compared the Newari translation (to the extent available) with the edited text, and came to the conclusion that with few exceptions they correspond to one another in content. Furthermore, I compared the edited text with the two above-mentioned Sanskrit manuscripts. Whenever I make comments upon passages where deviations cropped up, such deviations will be appropriately taken note of. But for the most part it has turned out that the two Sanskrit manuscripts largely agree with the reading of the text edition. And, thanks to the Newari translation, the contents of at least a part of the PaśP text passages to be dealt with can be securely traced back to the end of the sixteenth century.

The HimKh edition mentioned in ftn. 21 is based on three dated manuscripts from the years 1742, 1785 and 1888 as well as on a further, undated manuscript.[29] It contains again, however, no critical apparatus. I have in addition drawn upon the oldest dated HimKh manuscript known to me, from the year 1676, filmed by the NGMPP under No. E 34o/4. Only about the last third of this manuscript, however, has been preserved;[3o] still, it contains in its entirety a passage we shall later be discussing: the Pradyumnottara chapter, the concluding part of the HimKh.

Something more may be said about the history of the three above-mentioned Paurāṇic works and about their relation to one another:

It has been noted above in connection with the PaśP that its title as well as the extent of its text are in doubt. Sylvain Lévi called the work Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā, saying that the text claimed to be a part of the

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28. Only folios 2o-58 of this manuscript have been preserved; the text begins at PaśP X,28 (numeration according to the PaśP text edition).

29. Cf. the preface to the HimKh edition (1956, pp. 13f.).

3o. Folios 22o-238 and 243-353.

PaśP, but that it was uncertain whether other parts of the PaśP existed at all.[31] Yogi Naraharinath, on the other hand, published the text as the first half (*pūrvārdha*) of the PaśP, expressing in the preface his regret that he had not succeeded in locating the second half.[32]

If we examine the colophons of Lévi's manuscripts,[33] we are confronted immediately with the following facts: the colophons of adhyāyas I-XIV all begin with *iti śrīvāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsāyām* ..., to which is adjoined respectively the theme of the individual adhyāya in question; the colophons of adhyāyas XV-XXI, in contrast, begin uniformly: *iti śrīvāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsāyāṃ paśupatipurāṇe* ..., before the particular theme of the adhyāya is named. One would most likely infer from this that the PaśP is a part of the Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā rather than the reverse. But then in the last colophon to adhyāya XXII the relationship is turned around: *iti śrīpaśupatipurāṇe vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsāyām* ...

If we compare with these the colophons of the oldest dated PaśP manuscript,[34] then we find that the colophons of the first fourteen adhyāyas once again all begin with *iti śrīvāgmatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsāyām* ..., whereas the following ones, with the exception of the final colophon, each begin: *iti paśupatipurāṇe* ... Only the concluding double colophon (to the last adhyāya and to the text as a whole) includes both texts together: *iti vāgmatīpraśaṃsāyāṃ paśupatipurāṇe pulastyabhāṣitā vāgmatyāḥ stutiḥ samāptā. iti vāgmatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsāyāṃ paśupatipurāṇaṃ samāptam*. Now, the last adhyāya, the Vāgmatīstuti, appears to have been subsequently appended to the whole text. This, in any case, is what is suggested by the colophon preceding it, which in the same manuscript reads: *iti paśupatipurāṇe tīrthānandapurāṇe pūrvārdhakhaṇḍaḥ*. Yogi Naraharinath evidently inferred from this colophon that the surviving PaśP text as known up until then must have been only the first half of a more extensive work.

A rough check through the PaśP text, with the above-cited colophons from the various manuscripts being taken into account, allows in my opinion of the following reconstruction of the textual history of the PaśP as a unified text:

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[31] Lévi 1905, vol. 1, pp. 205f.

[32] In the preface to his text edition of the PaśP (1954, p. I).

[33] Lévi (1905, vol. 1, p. 205, ftn. 3) has reproduced all colophons of the MS. at his disposal.

[34] Cf. Naraharinath 1953/54.

- At the very beginning there existed two independent texts: one of them bore the title *Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā* and dealt with the origin of the Vāgvatī and the significance of the Vāgvatī tīrthas, and contained, finally, an especially detailed episode on the freeing of the Vāgvatī from her imprisonment in the Nepal Valley. The second text was entitled *Paśupatipurāṇa*. It offered above all a thorough description of how Śiva, as Paśupati, had found his way into the Nepal Valley, and contained further mythological episodes embedded in the Paśupati narrative.
- It cannot be determined whether these texts were brought together from the outset as two parts of one unified work or whether they were perhaps set down by some copyist accidentally in one and the same manuscript.[35] It is, however, certain that the two texts were at first only very loosely connected with one another. The colophons of the oldest dated PaśP manuscript, with the exception of the concluding double colophon, give not hint whatsoever of a connection between the two texts; and adhyāya XV betrays all signs of being the beginning of a work:

  oṃ namaḥ śivāya
  praṇamya śirasā bhaktyā paśūnāṃ patim avyayam /
  purāṇaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi munibhiḥ pūrvavarṇitam //

  The second text, the PaśP, ended with the colophon quoted above: *iti paśupatipurāṇe tīrthānandapurāṇe pūrvārdhakhaṇḍaḥ*. The simplest explanation of this statement would likely be that there was insufficient space in the *thyāsaphu* manuscript for the whole of the second text; the text was here broken off and resumed in a separate manuscript. Naturally other explanations of how the second half of the text came to be lost are conceivable. But since, in any case, none of the known manuscripts offers us an *uttarārdha*, this part of the work was evidently already lost at an early period.

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35. It is by no means seldom that in Nepalese *thyāṣaphu* (concertina-type) manuscripts several texts appear one after the other in one and the same manuscript.

- The two texts, perhaps originally juxtaposed only accidentally, were understood even in the oldest dated PaśP manuscript of 15o4 as being a single work, since the title Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā has been, as the final colophon shows, extended to cover both. To round off the work a Vāgvatīstuti, fitting in well with the unified title, was appended to the end, it being in all probability intended at the same time to close out the text, which had been left 'open' by the preceding colophon (... *pūrvārdhakhaṇḍaḥ*).
- The next step in the development is to be found in the later PaśP manuscripts,[36] where all colophons now begin with the title of the unified work: *iti śrīvāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsāyāṃ...*
- Still later, in the final colophon at first, the title Paśupatipurāṇa began to be placed at the beginning, since it was now evidently preferred as such for the unified work.

In spite of this state of affairs I shall in the following pages retain the designation Paśupatipurāṇa (PaśP) for the work, which has already twice been edited with this title.

The fact that the PaśP consists of two different texts that are only relatively loosely joined together sheds a first ray of light on the place this work occupies within the Paurāṇic literary history of Nepal. For if we compare it with the NepM, we see that the text of the NepM shows a clear affinity - in part in content, in part in language - to both parts of the PaśP, but that the passages in the NepM parallel to those in the first part of the PaśP have been shifted to the middle of the text. An even crude comparison of texts, then, leads to the assumption that the NepM is based on the compilation of the PaśP and that it is a step further along the way to welding the two parts into a unified whole. One reaches similar results, finally, by additionally comparing with the PaśP text that of the voluminous HimKh section on Nepal. Both texts again manifest numerous similarities and even correspondences in content and, occasionally, language, the mythology surrounding the Vāgmatī appearing also in the HimKh, where it has been worked into the unified text at various places. Let attention here be drawn in advance to the fact that these preliminary observations on the relative chronology of the three large Paurāṇic works of Nepal agree nicely with results concerning literary history which will be gained in the course of the present study from a detailed comparative treatment of individual passages in these works.

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[36] Namely in the MS. of Lévi and in the two MSS. filmed by the NGMPP under the numbers A 264/1o and 11.

Finally, the evolving of the PaśP out of two distinct parts, as described in detail, is also of special interest from the point of view of religious history. The first part of the PaśP is distinguished from the second not only in title and content but also in its religious origins: whereas the second part surely was Śaiva from the very beginning, the Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā gives evidence of having originally been conceived along Vaiṣṇava lines and apparently only subsequently of having undergone makeshift revisions and additions by the Śaivas. This premise will be worked out in detail in the following study only for those particular portions of text dealing with the origin (PaśP I,24c-6o) and freeing (PaśP V,1o-XIV,75) of the Vāgvatī, but it is my impression that it is applicable in fact to the whole of the first part of the PaśP (adhyāyas I-XIV).

This means, then, that even though their unchallenged religious center, the temple of Paśupati, lay on the Vāgmatī, the Śaivas of Nepal did not at first develop their own Vāgmatī mythology. But since the Vaiṣṇavas, on the other hand, already had a mythological Vāgmatī narrative at their disposal, the Śaivas took over this text and prefaced it to their own work on Paśupati. Though itself beyond doubt, it still cannot be said whether this Śaiva revision of the original Vaiṣṇava Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā occurred before the compilation with the PaśP or was only a consequence of it, especially as it may not have been a single act of editing but rather a process of adaptation extending over a longer period of time.

The above observations on the literary and religious history of the Paurāṇic works will be submitted to a more careful examination in the following detailed treatment of text passages dealing specifically with the Vāgmatī mythology. The Vāgmatī myths consist essentially of two episodes: a first narrative of the circumstances surrounding the origin of the Vāgmatī, and a second one dealing with her imprisonment and liberation. The latter episode occupies considerable space in all of the three named Paurāṇic works, whereas the origin of the Vāgmatī is reported in each case in only relatively short text passages. In the PaśP and HimKh the narrative of the Vāgmatī's origin is separate and independent of the liberation episode, whereas in the NepM both episodes are connected. I shall first of all take up in an excursus the relatively short text passages dealing with the origin of the Vāgmatī.

EXCURSUS I

The Origin of the Vāgvatī/Vāgmatī[37]

Paśupatipurāṇa I,24c-60

In the first adhyāya of the PaśP there is an account, in verses 24c-60, of how on the one hand the mountain Mṛgendraśikhara, on which the Vāgvatī issues forth, has got its name, and how on the other the Vāgvatī itself arose there. The cited passage from the PaśP can, as regards content, be subdivided into three sections:

- in I,24c-27 the derivation of the name Mṛgendraśikhara is explained;
- in verses I,28-45 the sojourn of King Sūryaketu on top of Mṛgendraśikhara is narrated;
- in I,46-60, finally, the origin of the Vāgvatī on top of Mṛgendraśikhara is described.

Each of these three sections of the PaśP will now briefly be introduced and discussed.

a) The derivation of the name Mṛgendraśikhara according to PaśP I, 24c-27

The passage reads as follows:

24cd *mṛgendraśikharaṃ tāvat kīrtayiṣyāmi suvrata //*
25 *hiraṇyakaśipuṃ hatvā līlayā kāmarūpadhṛk /*
narasiṃho mṛgo bhūtvā tasminn adrau cacāra ha //
26 *mṛgamadhye pradhānatvān mṛgendra iti kīrtyate /*
mṛgendraśikharo nāma tenaiva viśruto giriḥ //

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[37] As a series of Licchavi inscriptions show, the form *vāgvatī* is older than *vāgmatī*; cf. Licchavikāla-kā abhilekha ed. by Dh. Vajrācārya 1973/74, Index s.v. *vāgvatī*. Whereas, to judge by the text editions, the NepM MSS. already seem to show uniformily *vāgmatī*, in a portion of the PaśP MSS. the form *vāgvatī* is still to be found: The PaśP text editions have *vāgvatī*, as does MS. A 264/10; in contrast, MSS. 264/5 and 11 have *vāg(a)matī*, and the oldest PaśP MS. also appears to have this form (to judge, in any case, by the compilation made by Yogi Naraharinath (1973/74)). In spite of the preference of precisely the older MSS. for *vāgmatī*, I assume that *vāgvatī* was likely to have been the older form in the PaśP.

27 *tasya mūrdhni mṛgo 'dyāpi dṛśyate 'smiñ chilātanuḥ /*
śṛṅgādhirohaṇāt tasya tuṣyate puruṣottamaḥ //

24cd "I'll first extol Mṛgendraśikhara, O pious man.

25 After having slain Hiraṇyakaśipu, Narasiṃha, who [could] playfully assume any form at will, wandered about this mountain as a wild animal.

26 By reason of his preeminence among animals he is extolled as 'lord of beasts' (= lion). Through him the mountain has become famed under the name of Mṛgendraśikhara.

27 Even today a stone beast can bee seen on its summit. Puruṣottama (= Viṣṇu) is gladdened whenever someone climbs to its peak."

The explanation of the name Mṛgendraśikhara given here is meant first of all to identify this mountain clearly as a Vaiṣṇava locale, a fact explicitly brought out in the half-verse 27cd. I have the impression, moreover, that it may in addition be a polemic of the Vaiṣṇavas against a central Śaiva myth of Nepal. This myth tells of how Śiva once sojourned in the Nepal Valley as a *mṛga* (which here is used not in the sense of a wild beast in general but rather of a fabled, gazelle-like animal with a single horn[38]), and how it is for this reason that he is venerated in the main Śaiva shrine as Paśupati. This myth can bee found in all three mentioned Paurāṇic works of Nepal as well as in a section of the Varāhapurāṇa having to do with Nepal.[39] In the Varāhapurāṇa version Śiva in his *mṛga* form is even called *mṛgendra* (215,28) and *mṛgādhipa* (215,32), evidently meant as a paraphrase for *paśupati*. It is therefore possible that the Vaiṣṇavas in the cited PaśP passage wanted to offer as a contrast to the Paśupati of the Śaivas their own "lord of beasts", namely Viṣṇu in the form of a lion. In any case, it is striking how insistently in this as well as in two other passages of the first part of the PaśP[4o] Viṣṇu is called *mṛga*, *mahāmṛga* and

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[38] Thus in the PaśP Śiva as *mṛga* is also called *hariṇarūpa* (XV,26 and XVI,24) as well as *ekaśṛṅga* (XVI,23).

[39] PaśP XV,24ff.; NepM I,9ff.; HimKh 3o,1ff.; VarāhaP 215,1ff.

[4o] In PaśP IV,16a *mahāmṛga* at the source of the Vāgvatī is once again mentioned, and in PaśP XIV,44 the corresponding mountain is called *mṛgaśṛṅga*.

mṛgendra. The Vaiṣṇava locale *mṛgendraśikhara*, or *mṛgaśṛṅga* (in PaśP XIV, 44), would thereby at the same time be set over against the Śaiva *mṛgakūṭagiri*,[41] or *mṛgasthalī*,[42] where Śiva was said to have sojourned as a *mṛga* - and it is precisely places of pilgrimage that the first four adhyāyas of the PaśP[43] are all about.

b) The sojourn of King Sūryaketu on top of Mṛgendraśikhara (PaśP I,28-45)

Evidently in order to illustrate I,27cd and to confirm the Vaiṣṇava nature of the locale, the story of King Sūryaketu is recounted next in I,28-45: Sūryaketu had been given sovereignty over Jambudvīpa by Paraśurāma (30-31). But after Nārada one day convinced him of the advantages of a life as a Viṣṇubhakta (32-34), he gave up his crown and journeyed to Mṛgendraśikhara, where he settled down as a Vaiṣṇava ascetic (35-44). The PaśP editions additionally offer the half-verse in I,45: *sa mānuṣeṇa dehena viṣṇulokam avāptavān*, which is not, however, in either of the manuscripts[44] examined by me. Evidently the need was felt by the copyists (or possibly by Yogi Naraharinath?) for an ending to the Sūryaketu episode. But in so doing, they overlooked the fact that the episode is brought to its conclusion later, in PaśP XIV,43.[45]

What is striking is the following: on the one hand, there is no doubt that Sūryaketu, as a worshiper of Viṣṇu, is here intended to illustrate the special meaning attached to the Vaiṣṇava locale of Mṛgendraśikhara, and that Nārada correspondingly promises that from there Sūryaketu will attain to Viṣṇu's heaven.[46] On the other hand, it had previously been said, in I,28, that Sūryaketu entered into Sūrya's realm,[47] and according to PaśP XIV,43 Sūryaketu's final destination is Indra's city; I suspect that it was Viṣṇu's heaven which originally stood in both verses.[48] In that case, the elimination of Viṣṇu would have to be judged as a kind of 'neutralization' at the hands of Śaiva revisers. Let it be pointed out in advance that in the parallel version of the HimKh Sūryaketu obtains immortality from Śiva and then is led "to Śiva's city" (*śivapuram*) together with his whole family.[49]

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[41] PaśP XV,22; XVI,20, 21; XVI,22 (*mṛgagiri*).

[42] NepM I,30-31; Mṛgasthalī has continued up to the present to be the name of the wooded hill opposite the temple of Paśupatinātha on the other side of the Vāgmatī; cf. Slusser 1982, vol. 2, map 6: "Deopatan and Vicinity."

[43] The colophons of the PaśP give *tīrthavarṇana* or *tīrthayātrākhaṇḍa* as the title of the first four adhyāyas.

[44] NGMPP No. A 264/10 and 11.

[45] PaśP XIV,43b-d reads: ... *sūryaketur narādhipaḥ / sa mānuṣeṇa dehena prāgāc chakrapuraṃ śubham //*.

c) The origin of the Vāgvatī on top of Mṛgendraśikhara (PaśP I, 46-60)

The verses I,47-50 briefly describe the origin of the Vāgvatī in the following manner:

47 *sahasram ekaṃ varṣāṇāṃ prahlādo daityasattamaḥ /*
rudram ārādhayāmāsa purā tasmiñ chiloccaye //
48 *tapaḥprabhāvān mahataḥ saṃtuṣṭo ditinandanāt /*
dṛṣṭamātre 'tiharṣeṇa mumoca hasanaṃ haraḥ //
49 *hāsāṃśunikarād ramyād devadevasya dhīmataḥ /*
utpapāta girer mūrdhni nadī puṇyajalāśayā //
50 *harahāsāṃśusaṃbhūtā phenaprasyandavāhinī /*
vacanāt saṃbhavo yasmād vāgvatīty abhidhīyate //

47 "Once, for a thousand years, did Prahlāda, the best of Daityas, worship Rudra on this rocky mass.

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46. PaśP I,40 reads: *kṛtvā tu vasatīṃ rājan vāgvatīprabhave girau / kālāntareṇa niyataṃ viṣṇulokam avāpsyasi //.*

47. PaśP I,28b-d reads: ... *sūryaketur narādhipaḥ / sa mānuṣeṇa dehena sūryalokam avāptavān //.*

48. As for PaśP XIV,43, the two Sanskrit MSS. made use of (NGMPP No. A 264/10 and 11) do confirm the reading *prāgāc chakrapuraṃ* in pāda d, but in the older Newari translation the corresponding passage is: ... *sūrya[ke]tu rājāsa sarirana bişnupurī vagva* (fol. 36b). Presumably, a still older reading of the PaśP text is here preserved.

49. Cf. below p.26.

48 Hara was pleased with Diti's great offspring, master of austerities;[5o] seeing [him], he straightway let out a laugh with unbounded joy.

49 From the gladdening bundle of rays of laughter of the wise god of gods arose on the mountain's peak a river, abode of healing waters.

5o The river, flowing forth in foam, arose from Hara's rays of laughter. It arose from [Hara's] voice, and therefore it is called 'Vāgvatī'."

Two things are of note in this passage: first, that Prahlāda, well known as a Viṣṇubhakta,[51] here appears as a worshiper of Śiva, and, secondly, that the Vāgvatī is here made to derive from Śiva. The latter would not, to be sure, be inconceivable in a Vaiṣṇana text: It is possible that the folk etymology deriving 'Vāgvatī' from Śiva's voice or laughter was to such an extent already known that the Vaiṣṇavas found it advisable to take it over, embedding it merely in a Vaiṣṇava context; after all, it was Prahlāda who caused Śiva to laugh. In Indian mythology Prahlāda is the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu and enjoys a special relation with Viṣṇu in his avatar as Narasiṃha. One may therefore assume that the description of the origin of the Vāgvatī as handed down in the PaśP is based on an older version having close connections with the previously mentioned episode on the origin of the name 'Mṛgendraśikhara'. On the other hand, that a Vaiṣṇava text should have represented Prahlāda as a worshiper of Śiva seems to me to be out of the question;[52] this is surely to be taken, in the extant version of the PaśP, as a subsequent Śaiva revision.

[5o] Also possible: "Hara was pleased with Diti's offspring because of [his] great ascetic power." The use of the ablative with *saṃtuṣṭo* to designate the agent is striking.

[51] For a detailed description of the Viṣṇubhakta Prahlāda cf. Hacker 1959.

[52] In his Prahlāda monograph (cf. ftn. 51) Hacker notes that the Śaiva-based version of the Prahlāda legend dealt with by him did not yet dare to represent Prahlāda as a Śaiva, though in the Śākta versions he does appear as a Śākta (pp. 218f.).

The following verses report that various kinds of creatures appear and admire Śiva's work (51-53). From the words of Śiva addressed to Prahlāda which follow (54-58b), verse 57, which declares the Vāgvatī with all her tīrthas a Śaiva locale, may here be cited as focal:

saiva[53] *tīrthavatī śreṣṭhā lokakāmaphalapradā /*
sevyā bhavatu sarveṣāṃ mama lokābhilāṣiṇām //

> "Let this best [of all rivers] along with its tīrthas, the fructifier of desires for the heavenly world, be honored by all who crave my heavenly world."

The results obtained up to now on the textual history of the PaśP text passage I,24-6o may be summarized as follows: In the first place, this entire passage, in a Śaiva work, is without a doubt based on a Vaiṣṇava source, which itself has gone through two stages in its development, having evidently been compiled from two different episodes, clearly conceived along Vaiṣṇava lines, dealing with the mountain Mṛgendraśikhara. The one episode was likely to have been a self-contained legend explaining the name 'Mṛgendraśikhara', and at the same time dealing with the origin of the Vāgvatī. The main characters in it were Viṣṇu as Narasiṃha, Prahlāda and, perhaps, Śiva. This story appears to have been conceived even then within the background of a rivalry with Śaivism (Mṛgendra contra Paśupati; Prahlāda the cause of Śiva's bringing forth the Vāgvatī). Into this legend, then, a second episode was inserted which dealt with the sojourn of the Viṣṇubhakta Sūryaketu on top of Mṛgendraśikhara, and thus by means of which the religious significance of this Vaiṣṇava locale could be illustrated. The Śaivas were evidently able to reconcile themselves to a Vaiṣṇava legend of the Vāgvatī's place of origin, but they nevertheless modified the text in order to (re-)emphasize the Śaiva nature of the legend and thereby to endow the Vāgvatī as a whole with connotations of a Śaiva mythology. Just how important this myth of the Vāgvatī's origin was to the Śaivas may further be seen from the fact that reference is made to it in two other passages, in PaśP II,28, and, especially, in the very opening verse PaśP I,1; in neither of these two verses, however, is it asserted that the Vāgvatī came into being out of Śiva's laughter, it simply being stated rather that it had sprung from his mouth.[54] This latter version may possibly have been the older Śaiva legend on the origin of the Vāgvatī, which was then taken up by the Vaiṣṇavas and presented in a slightly altered form.

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[53] MS. A 264/11 (NGMPP) reads here *śaiva*-!

The Vaiṣṇavas do not appear to have developed their own special legend on the origin of the Vāgvatī. Pratapaditya Pal and Mary S. Slusser have recently expressed the opinion that the name of the Vāgmatī hints at a special connection with Vaiṣṇavism;[55] while Pal offers no reason for his opinion, Slusser says that the name 'Vāgmatī' is to be taken as referring to Sarasvatī as the companion of Viṣṇu. Against this view it must be said that, in the first place, we have no old iconographical evidence in Nepal showing Sarasvatī in any special relation to Viṣṇu,[56] and that, secondly, I have nowhere found even a trace of an association 'Vāgmatī – Sarasvatī – Vaiṣṇavism' in Nepal's Paurāṇic literature, which admittedly consists of, in the end, exclusively Śaiva compilations. As far as I can tell, in the entire Paurāṇic literature of Nepal only the version presented here of the arising of the Vāgmatī out of Śiva's laughter or from his mouth has been handed down. I thereby take exception to on opinion expressed by S. Lévi and, more recently, by Kamal P. Malla that in the NepM there is to be found a second, likewise Śaiva version according to which the Vāgmatī is said to have arisen from the horn of Śiva in his form as a *mṛga*; this view appears to be based on a misunderstanding of NepM I,28.[57]

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[54] PaśP I.1: ... *vaktrād viniṣkrāntā vāgvatī* ...; PaśP II,38: *mukhodbhūtā vāgvatī* ...

[55] Pal 1970, p. 1; Slusser 1982, vol. 1, pp. 243 and 351.

[56] Pal 1970, p. 117: "No sculpture has so far been discovered where she (= Sarasvatī) accompanies Viṣṇu."

[57] Lévi (1905, vol. 1, p. 329) cites "Nep. Māh. I" as the source, and Malla (1982/83, p. 61) is even less precise, naming only the NepM as source. But in the entire first adhyāya of the NepM the origin of the Vāgmatī is mentioned only in v. 28. As may be seen from the critical apparatus of Uebach's edition, this verse reads in the NepM MS. of Lévi: *mṛgendraśikharād ramyāṃ mama hasyād vinirgatām / vāgmatīm* ... I can only assume that in this verse, which is located at the end of the episode of Śiva in the form of a mṛga, Lévi may perhaps have mistakenly taken *mṛgendraśikharād* to mean 'from the tip [of the horn] of the mṛga lord'.

In addition, if I am not mistaken, the originally Vaiṣṇava Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā hints at an explanation of the river name 'Vāgvatī' ('[the river] having a voice') which is non-sectarian and which - as Lévi also believed[58] - is so obvious that it may well correspond to the actual origin of the name 'Vāgvatī', or the Tibeto-Burman form *'nwa-khu'*.[59] The Vāgvatī is the only river to stream into the Nepal Valley over resounding waterfalls. The place of entry into the valley is called in PaśP IV,1 *vāgvatīdvāra*[60] and, in the neighboring half-verse 3ab *saritsalilajhaṅkāraśabdasaṅghātabhīṣaṇam*; similarly, allusion is made in PaśP II,4 and III,12 to the "voice" of the Vāgvatī.[61] Such allusions presumably date from the period of the Vaiṣṇava text, as the later, Śaiva revisers, who most certainly attached great value to their folk etymological sectarian interpretation of the river name, could hardly be expected to have themselves introduced a competing explanation into the text.

Nepālamāhātmya VII,33-70

The above-described textual history particular to the PaśP passage I,24c-60 is both confirmed and amplified in the parallel passage of the NepM, now to be discussed. To be sure, the NepM passage VII,33-70 shows no word-for-word correspondence with the section of the PaśP; still, a connection within their text histories cannot be denied, since in the above-mentioned NepM passage the same three subjects are treated: Sūryaketu's sojourn on Mṛgendraśikhara, the derivation of the name 'Mṛgendraśikhara' and the origin of the Vāgmatī.

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58. Lévi (1905, vol. 1, p. 51) describes the Vāgmatī thus: "Seule la Bāgmatī remplit toute l'année son lit de ses flots bruyants qui lui ont valu son nom, 'la Parlante'"; later on, however, he hedges (p. 329): "La Vāgmatī ... ne doit pas son nom, comme on pourrait le croire, au murmure de ses eaux: Elle est née, blanche comme le rire, de la bouche même (vacana) de Śiva ..."

59. Malla 1982/83, p. 62: "Tibeto-Burman nwa-khu (mouth river or murmuring river) has become Indo-Aryan Vāk-matī = Vāgmatī. Beyond the pale of the urban and Sanskritised culture belt, the river is still called nwa-khu."

60. This place is still known today by the name of 'Bāgdvār'; cf. Slusser 1982, vol. 1, p. 351.

61. PaśP II,4cd agrees almost word for word with IV,3ab, and in III,12 it says: ... *nadījalāsphālanaśabdanāditāt* ... *(tīrthasattamād)* ...

On the other hand, a comparison brings to light a number of striking differences between the two texts, which are to be viewed within the context of the following two facts:

- In the PaśP the section dealt with, I,24c-60, is entirely severed from, and in content independent of, the same work's 'Pradyumnavijayakhaṇḍa' in adhyāyas V-XIV, i.e. the chapter describing the freeing of the Vāgvatī from her imprisonment in the Nepal Valley. Not so in the NepM: the passage at issue here, VII,33-70, has been worked integrally into the 'Pradyumnavijaya' chapter (adhyāyas VII-XII) of the NepM.
- For a just assessment of NepM VII,33-70 in the context of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter, one must mention in advance a result which will be reached below in the discussion of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM as a whole: the text passage under discussion here, NepM VII,33-70, is one of a total of three fairly lengthy interpolations, all of which deal in particular with King Sūryaketu, and all of which manifest decidedly Vaiṣṇava features. If my assumption is correct that the NepM passage VII,33-70 is based on PaśP I,24c-60, then we would have a situation in which a text originally conceived along Vaiṣṇava lines and already in part, in the PaśP, refashioned by the Śaivas reappears, this time in the NepM, once again in a Vaiṣṇava form.

Obviously as a result of their incorporation into the Pradyumnavijaya context, the three subjects dealt with in PaśP I,24c-60 occur in the parallel passage of the NepM in a different order: mention is made first of all, in VII,33-49b, of King Sūryaketu, who is counseled by Nārada to journey to Mṛgendraśikhara; in response to Sūryaketu's question (VII,49c-50b) Nārada gives in a self-contained discourse an explanation of the name 'Mṛgendraśikhara' and recounts the origin of the Vāgmatī (VII,50c-66b); in the end Nārada is able to persuade Sūryaketu to make the journey to Mṛgendraśikhara (VII,66c-70).

Likewise within the context of the Pradyumnavijaya, the characterization and story of Sūryaketu take a different turn in the NepM as compared with the PaśP: Sūryaketu, who again in the NepM is explicitly called a worshiper of Viṣṇu (VII,35), rules as king in the city of Śvetakā, until one day he is attacked by the king of Mithilā, Haṃsadhvaja, is routed and so must flee. At the urging of Nārada he journeys with his family to Mṛgendraśikhara, there to await the opportunity to return to his court in

Śvetakā. Sūryaketu in the NepM thus does not dwell, as he does in the PaśP, on top of Mṛgendraśikhara as a world-weary hermit but as a king who hides himself and his family, waiting for the opportunity to regain his kingdom.

Due to the fact that the Sūryaketu episode in the NepM forms the framework for the text passage VII,33-7o, the accounts of the derivation of the name 'Mṛgendraśikhara' and of the origin of the Vāgmatī, which in the PaśP version had been separated by the Sūryaketu episode, are here brought back together. They are presented as a self-contained unit by Nārada in NepM VII,5o-66b. In what follows I shall give a detailed summary of the contents of this text passage, which is especially interesting from the point of view of the sectarian rivalry between the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas:[62]

The passage begins in VII,5oc-55 in an entirely Vaiṣṇava vein: Viṣṇu as Narasiṃha has killed Hiraṇyakaśipu in order to protect Prahlāda (5oc-51). Exhausted,[63] Viṣṇu thereupon retires to the Himalaya followed by Prahlāda, who constantly recites the name of Narasiṃha (52-53b). The Himalayan mountain on which Viṣṇu, in the form of a *mṛgendra*, sojourns is henceforth called Mṛgendraśikhara (54). After Prahlāda loses Narasiṃha from sight, he begins a thousand-year period of religious austerity (55).

Verses 56-58 correspond in content to the Śaiva passage in PaśP I,47ff. dealing with the origin of the Vāgvatī: here again Śiva shows his pleasure at Prahlāda's asceticism; from his laughter the Vāgmatī takes its rise (56-57), and Śiva immediately explains its name from this (58).

The following words Śiva addresses to Prahlāda (59-65b) are alternately cast in a Vaiṣṇava (vai.) and a Śaiva (śai.) mold:

59 (vai.) Since Viṣṇu has sojourned there, this place shall be a Vaiṣṇava region (*vaiṣṇavaṃ kṣetram*).

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[62] In view of the available NepM text edition and translation by Uebach, I shall here forego a reproduction and translation of the text to the extent that I adhere to Uebach's own.

[63] *pariśrānto* in VII,52 is not to be rendered as 'very calm' ("sehr beruhigt", Uebach) but as 'exhausted'; cf. *viśrānto* in VII,62.

60 (śai.) Translation: "Since on its upper part will be a place holy to me, rich in Śivaliṅgas, therefore men have sung [of it] as Śivapurī."[64]

61-63b (vai.) Prahlāda is to rule his father's kingdom with undiminished Viṣṇubhakti. The Vaiṣṇava region where Narasiṃha rested himself shall be called Mṛgendraśikhara. Prahlāda has practiced religious austerity as a Viṣṇubhakta.

63c-65b (śai.) The Vāgmatī has originated out of his (= Śiva's) laughter, and he has caused liṅgas to arise there. Whoever bathes in the Vāgmatī and beholds Śivapurī shall obtain salvation.

Thus the contents of NepM VII,50c-65b.

The first part of the passage, VII,50c-55, corresponds in content to the Vaiṣṇava passage in PaśP I,24c-27, except that in the former Prahlāda appears. He is characterized in 53a (*japan nṛsiṃhanāmāni*) as a Viṣṇubhakta, and in 55 it is reported that he has practiced religious austerity a thousand years; in PaśP I,47 he spends the thousand years worshiping Rudra.

In the second part of the passage, VII,56-58, Śiva too is mentioned: He takes pleasure in Prahlāda's asceticism, and from his laughter the Vāgmatī arises.

For the following passage, VII,59-65b, there is no longer any parallel in the PaśP. The text itself does not, as far as I can see, offer any definite clue as to the order in which the various sectarian passages may have been inserted. Since it has already been pointed out above that the entire text passage NepM VII,33-70 was inserted into the Pradyumnavijaya section by Vaiṣṇavas, I assume here too that the two Vaiṣṇava passages were the first to be appended. Possibly it was with a view to PaśP I,57, where the Vāgvatītīrthas are commended to Śaivas, that in NepM VII,59 and 62 reference is made emphatically to the Vaiṣṇava character of the Vāgmatī's headwater region; and in 61 and 63ab, moreover, Prahlāda is once again unmistakably stamped as a Viṣṇubhakta. As the final act in the history of the text, then, the clearly Śaiva verses 6o and 63-65b will have been added on. These verses once more go beyond the statement in the PaśP paralleling them, in that here the place of origin of the Vāgmatī is twice declared to be a Śaiva tīrtha with the name 'Śivapurī'.[65] This latter concluding addition to the text by the Śaivas has again, as will be shown, a parallel in the textual development of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM as a whole. After the above-mentioned next to last stage of development, clearly Vaiṣṇava in tone, the Pradyumnavijaya chapter was provided in its final editing (the one leading to the surviving text) with a series of unmistakable Śaiva additions, among which the verses discussed here, NepM VII,6o and 63c-65b, are probably to be reckoned.

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[64] Thus my suggestion for the translation, which differs from that of Uebach.

Himavatkhaṇḍa 86 and 117

Parallel to the two text passages of the PaśP and NepM discussed in detail already, I have found two passages in the HimKh, in two different adhyāyas, which will here be mentioned only briefly. In adhyāya 86 the origin of the Vāgmatī is told, and in adhyāya 117 first Narasiṃha's visit to Mṛgendraśikhara and then Sūryaketu's sojourn on the same mountain are recounted. Thus all three themes of the previously discussed text passages of the PaśP and NepM are again represented in the HimKh. But whereas the two texts of the PaśP and NepM are clearly marked by the sectarian conflict between Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas, the cited passages of the HimKh are obviously versions consciously reformed along Śaiva lines in which any Vaiṣṇava elements appear to have been purposely eliminated. The HimKh narratives, which are all very broadly conceived, having been provided with a host of subepisodes, will in what follows be recounted in a considerably compressed form.

In adhyāya 86 the following account of the origin of the Vāgmatī is given: Brahmā once undertook a journey to the mountain Śivakūṭa in the Himalaya (8) and there paid reverence to Śiva for such a long time that the latter broke out joyously in resounding laughter (17); at the same time a drop dripped from his tongue and rushed down the moutain as a river (18-19). Brahmā saw this and thereupon proclaimed: *yato rudramukhodbhūtā*

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[65] The name 'Śivapurī', incidentally, finally won out. Today the corresponding region north of Kathmandu is commonly known as 'Śivapurī ḍā̃ṛā'; cf. the map "Kathmandu Valley. 1:5o.ooo" 1977.

vāgmatīti bhaviṣyati (23cd). The similarities between this description and the previously discussed versions of the legend of the Vāgmatī's origin cannot be overlooked, but on the other hand the Vaiṣṇava Prahlāda is here replaced by Brahmā, who was probably felt to be a more neutral figure, and the mountain Mṛgendraśikhara by the mountain Śivakūṭa.

We can observe the same sort of thing in the HimKh adhyāya 117: after mention has been made of Mṛgendraśikhara (116,29-3o) and the Nṛsiṃhatīrtha (117,3),[66] in 117,8-16b it is recounted that Narasiṃha, after having slain Hiraṇyakaśipu, came to that place and for a long time worshiped Śatarudra, until finally one hundred Śivaliṅgas arose for worship by those desirous of salvation. As an example, the story of King Sūryaketu is told (16c-33): Sūryaketu had returned his sovereignty over the earth to Paraśurāma and together with his family had retired to the Himalaya, where he practiced religious austerity, bathed in the Nṛsiṃhatīrtha and worshiped the aforesaid liṅgas, until finally Śiva himself appeared, promised him immortality and let him and his family be led "to Śiva's city" (*śivapuram*). Without a doubt, this section is based on the PaśP version already discussed, but it bears witness to sweeping Śaiva revisions: Narasiṃha worships Śiva, and the region of Mṛgendraśikhara and Nṛsiṃhatīrtha is fixed as a Śaiva locale. Sūryaketu, too, is no longer represented as a Vaiṣṇava but as a worshiper of Śiva.

In the case of the legend on the origin of the Vāgmatī, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that the HimKh version derives from a second, purely Śaiva prototype independently of the mixed Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava tradition represented in the two previously discussed texts of the PaśP and NepM. But since the second HimKh passage, adhyāya 117, is most surely based on the PaśP version - though pains have clearly been taken to eliminate Vaiṣṇava elements from the legend - I suspect that also in the case of the episode of the Vāgmatī's origin a conscious Śaiva revision was undertaken with the intention of opposing the strong Vaiṣṇava overtones in the versions of the other Paurāṇic works.

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[66] The region of modern Būḍhānīlakaṇṭha, lying at the southern slope of Śivapurī, was formerly known as Narasiṃhasthāna; cf. Slusser and Vajrācārya 1973, pp. 86f.

Summary

Now that the descriptions found in Nepal's Paurāṇic literature relating to the origin and headwater region of the Vāgmatī have been presented insofar as known to me, the following summary remarks may be made in conclusion:

a) Literary aspects

Neither of the two text passages of the PaśP and NepM dealt with in detail is homogenous; the form in which they have come down makes it clear that they are to be viewed as the end results of lengthy developments, in the course of which different redactors have abviously made revisions, i.e. changes and additions. These redactional modifications occurred in a relatively crude manner, without, that is, care being taken that transitions be smooth and lines of thought logically coherent. It is precisely for this reason that these texts provide philological research more or less stable footholds in drawing conclusions and making hypotheses about the historical development of the text, this in turn being the precondition for an adequate historical interpretation of its contents.

The text passages of the HimKh discussed are, on the other hand, to be judged differently from the point of view of literary genre. To be sure, here too older sources have been drawn upon. But these have been worked over and reformed, possibly by a single author, with a clear-cut purpose.

b) Mythological and religious aspects

In each of the three cases all discoverable revisions of the themes discussed seem to have been motivated predominantly by reasons of sect. Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas were evidently at pains to incorporate the Vāgmatī mythology into their own respective systems. The final versions of the Śaiva Paurāṇic texts as handed down to us point back in each case, either directly or indirectly, to Vaiṣṇava sources. And, conversely, even in the oldest reconstructible Vaiṣṇava source there are already discernible elements pointing for their part to the rival claims of Śaiva mythology. To summarize briefly, the following development is apparent:

First, there were two stages of development traceable in the text of the PaśP:

- A myth on the origin of the Vāgvatī, probably Śaiva in its beginnings, appears to have been taken up on the Vaiṣṇava side and embedded in a Narasiṃha-Prahlāda episode with the aim of declaring the headwater region of the Vāgvatī a Vaiṣṇavatīrtha with the name Mṛgendraśikhara.
- The Śaivas resisted, and altered the text, declaring for their part Prahlāda, in this episode, to be a worshiper of Śiva, and reemphasizing the special significance the Vāgvatī and all her tīrthas have for Śaivas.

It is on this PaśP text that, on the one hand, the version of the NepM and, on the other, that of the HimKh appear to be based.

The NepM again shows two stages of development:

- First of all, the PaśP text in its Śaiva version appears to have been taken up again by the Vaiṣṇavas and changed and added to suit their own purposes: The Vāgmatī's place of origin is once again emphatically called a Vaiṣṇavatīrtha, and it is made clear that Prahlāda was never anything other than a Viṣṇubhakta.
- This called forth a reaction from the Śaivas: They proceeded to make explicit claims upon the Vāgmatī's place of origin as being a Śaivatīrtha, having the name Śivapurī.

In the HimKh version, finally, we have only one clear presuasion left, all Vaiṣṇava elements belonging to the older version of the PaśP having now been either totally eliminated or reinterpreted to fit a Śaiva scheme of things.

With the results of this historical development in view, both textual and religious in nature, let it be said in advance that the detailed treatment to follow of the second mythological complex dealing with the Vāgmatī in Nepal's Paurāṇic literature - the main subject of the present study - will lead to very similar findings, both as regards the history of the texts themselves and that of their mythological and religious aspects. Therefore I shall refrain for the present, with only the results obtained on a fairly small textual basis, from drawing general conclusions concerning developments within the history of Hinduism in Nepal.

The draining of the Nepal Valley according to the Paurāṇic sources of Nepalese Hinduism

In comparison with the relatively brief texts on the legend of the Vāgmatī's origin dealt with already, the sections on the draining of the Nepal Valley - or in mythological terms: the freeing of the Vāgmatī from her imprisonment in the valley - are considerably more extensive:

- The pertinent chapter in the PaśP, there called *pradyumnavijayakhaṇḍaḥ*, forms the second part of the Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā, of which it comprises roughly three-fourths of the text; and within the whole of the compilated Paśupatipurāṇa this episode still makes up more than half of the text.
- The *pradyumnavijaya* chapter of the NepM is even more extensive than the PaśP version.
- And the HimKh, finally, contains a version of the legend twice as long again, there titled *pradyumnottara*.

As the cited titles of the sections, *pradyumnavijaya* and *pradyumnottara*, already suggest, the mythological figure Pradyumna plays a leading role in the drainage myth of Nepalese Hinduism. Pradyumna is well known as the son of Kṛṣṇa and is held to be the incarnation of Kāma; his most famous heroic deed was his victory over the demon Śambara. It is especially as an enemy of the demons too that he has been incorporated into the local Nepalese mythology: In the drainage myth of the Nepal Valley it is first up to Pradyumna to kill a Daitya king who has been holding the Vāgmatī prisoner in the valley; the subsequent freeing of the Vāgmatī, however, remains the privilege of Pradyumna's father, Kṛṣṇa.

As in the case of the passages already dealt with, the three cited versions of the drainage myth in the Paurāṇic literature of Nepalese Hinduism show so many agreements in content, and in part in wording as well, that a close relationship can be assumed to exist among the three texts. On the other hand, there are also manifold deviations, from which one may infer varying motives and intentions on the part of revisers, and which allow the individual versions of the legends to be ordered within the context of their textual and religious development.

In what follows, therefore, the three versions of one and the same mythological narrative will be individually presented in detail, analyzed and set into relation with one another as developmental stages of a changing myth. the relative chronology of the three texts and, thereby, the developmental history of the corresponding myth can naturally only come out of the comparative studies which follow. But in order to justify the presentational sequence, which has already been oriented around the results obtained on the relative chronology, let the following be said in advance: The version of the PaśP shows parallels in wording and content both to the NepM text and to the HimKh text. The two versions of the NepM and HimKh, however, show no agreements that could not be explained on the basis of the PaśP as connecting link. As is to be demonstrated in detail, the version of the NepM appears to derive from a stage of development prior to that of the text handed down in the PaśP, while the HimKh version is rather clearly based on the text of the PaśP as we know it. These findings correspond for the most part to what was said above (p. 11 f.) concerning the relative chronology of the three Paurāṇic works as well as to the results obtained in Excursus I concerning short text passages of related content from the three works. It would seem therefore advisable to begin here again with a presentation and discussion of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP.

The Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the Paśupatipurāṇa

In order to give a general idea of the story line according to the PaśP version, I begin by recounting in outline form the contents of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter, PaśP V,7 - XIV,75:

Adhyāya V (verses 7-28)[67]

Not far from Candanāgiri, in the city of Suprabhā,[68] there lives the Daitya king Mahendradamana and his beloved sister Prabhāvatī (7-9). Prabhāvatī refuses to marry a Daitya (1o-11). Mahendradamana has a pleasure park laid out for her on top of Candanāgiri and has the Vāgvatī dammed up that she might have a lake for herself (12-13). Under the protection of her brothers she there diverts herself and sets the heads of young men spinning (14-18). By her ascetic worship of Umā she succeeds in having the goddess appear to her and promise her Pradyumna, Kṛṣṇa's son, as a husband (19-28).

Adhyāya VI

Umā causes Pradyumna to set out on a pilgrimage, on which he is accompanied by Kṛṣṇa (1-8). They together visit the sources of various important rivers, reaching at last that of the Vāgvatī, where they come upon the muni Nārada (9-12). Nārada reports to them the following state of affairs: King Sūryaketu has been holding up for a long time at the source of the Vāgvatī and looking for the day he can return to the city of Śvetakā. Princess Candrāvatī has been promised to Pradyumna, but Mahendradamana wants to abduct her. Pradyumna should therefore marry her. Furthermore, Mahendradamana is preventing the Vāgvatī from flowing to the Ganges. And, finally, Prabhāvatī is also pining after Pradyumna. Pradyumna should therefore spend the coming night with Prabhāvatī (13-2o). Kṛṣṇa answers: He has nothing against a family connection with Sūryaketu, but before the marriage with

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[67] I follow the numeration in Yogi Naraharinath's edition (Kathmandu 1954), which differs from that of the Royal Nepal Academy's (Kathmandu 1972) only in adhyāya V.

[68] Suprabhā is said to have stood at the site of present-day Ṭhānkoṭ, at the western edge of the Nepal Valley; cf. Lévi 19o5, vol. 1, p. 369.

Candrāvatī Pradyumna should kill Mahendradamana. He himself will then set the Vāgvatī free. Afterwards the marriage with Candrāvatī can take place and Sūryaketu return to Śvetakā. Pradyumna is told to remain there the coming night (21-28). Kṛṣṇa thereupon takes his leave (29).

Adhyāya VII

Nārada recommends to Pradyumna that he enter that very night into a Gāndharva marriage with Prabhāvatī and then early in the morning return home. Thereupon Nārada too retires (1-8). Pradyumna spends the night with Prabhāvatī (9-18). Early in the morning Prabhāvatī beseeches Pradyumna to keep her friend Candrāvatī from the clutches of Mahendradamana (19-22), whereupon Pradyumna gives Candrāvatī into the charge of the Vāgvatī (23-28b). Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī fly away to Dvārakā; along the way Pradyumna describes the cities they pass over (28c-36).

Adhyāya VIII

Nārada visits Mahendradamana in Suprabhā and discloses to him that Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna have come to Nepal and that Pradyumna has carried off Prabhāvatī to Dvārakā (1-17). Mahendradamana becomes angry, but Nārada recalls that the only way of getting at the Yādavas is by first stealing Kṛṣṇa's "fang jewel" (*daṃṣṭrāratna*[69]), which endows him with special power. Nārada thereupon leaves the raging Daitya king (18-28). The next opportunity Mahendradamana has, he takes off for Dvārakā and there, assuming in the darkness of night the form of Pradyumna, robs the jewel (29-37). Returning to the Himalaya, he delivers the jewel over to the Daitya Virādha for safekeeping (38-39).

Adhyāya IX

The next morning Kṛṣṇa discovers that his jewel is missing. He suspects at first Pradyumna but then recognizes that Mahendradamana must be the culprit (1-12b). Kṛṣṇa thereupon sends Pradyumna along with Prabhāvatī back to

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[69] The PaśP editions have *daṃṣṭrāratnam* in VIII,21, which is explained in the following v. 22: *mahāvarāhasya daṃṣṭrayā*. The MS. of the Newari translation (NGMPP No. A 264/5) has the form *dādhāratna* (fol. 34b and 36a), which is likely a variant of *dāḍhāratna*; cf. Turner 1966, s.v. 6250 *dāṃṣṭra-*. The name of the jewel was perhaps no longer rightly understood in later MSS.; the Sanskrit MSS. A 264/10 and 11 read *draṃṣṭāratna*, *drāḍhāratna* and *drādhāratna*.

Nepal to recover the jewel and to kill Mahendradaman (12c-16b). At the same time, Kṛṣṇa has Indra informed that his archenemy is now to be killed (16c-18). Pradyumna returns together with Prabhāvatī to the source of the Vāgvatī, this time describing the rivers they fly over along the way (19-33).

Adhyāya X

Vāgvatī, who has appeared in the form of a woman, now describes the threatening situation: Mahendradamana has managed to locate Candrāvatī's hiding place; Sūryaketu, Indra and she herself have been devoutly wishing for Pradyumna's victory over Mahendradamana; and Candrāvatī's brother Candraketu has been lying in wait for the Daitya king who wants to abduct his sister (1-7). In the evening Pradyumna gets the chance to see Mahendradamana, who has come to abduct Candrāvatī (8-13). Prabhāvatī and Pradyumna, who has taken over the role of Candrāvatī, put him off, suggesting to him that he should first ask Candrāvatī's father for her hand in marriage. The Daitya king, promising to do this, retires (14-29). The rest of the night Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī have their pleasure with one another (3o-41).

Adhyāya XI

Early in the morning Nārada comes on the scene. When Pradyumna expresses his doubts about a victory over Mahendradamana, Nārada refers him to a prophecy of Brahmā's according to which Pradyumna will overcome the Daitya king (1-5). Pradyumna asks for more details, and Nārada recounts to him the following story (6-9): Bāna's wife Rohiṇī once bore him a fearful Daitya son, to whom those versed in the śāstras gave the name 'Indradamana' on the basis of his particular bodily features (1o-14). Growing into a young man, he wished to prove himself true to his name. He therefore practiced religious austerity, until Brahmā granted him his wish of being unconquerable by the gods and of being allowed to gain mastery over the three worlds (15-25b). The Daitya was enthroned as king. He sent a herald to demand of Indra that he renounce his sovereignty over heaven. When Indra refused to do this, the Daitya king, on the advice of Śukra,[7o] organized together with the Daityas Virādha and Śaṅkha a campaign against Indra and overcame him after a hard-fought battle, so that Indra had to flee (25c-45b). But when the Daityas became bent on capturing Amarāvatī, Brahmā stepped in, allowed them a single plundering of the city and thereafter sent the Daitya king and his followers back to earth (45c-52b). Brahmā then turned his attention to the defeated Indra, calling upon him to reoccupy Amarāvatī and consoling him with the assurance that Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna would one day kill the Daitya king (52c-57b). The Daityas additionally conquered the underworld and the world of mortals (57c-63b). Returning to Suprabhā, the Daitya king had the Vāgmatī dammed up for Prabhāvatī, set Śaṅkha as protector over the dam, made Virādha take up residence in the lake in the form of a turtle and indulged himself to excess in high living (63c-69b). - Nārada closes his account with the remark that Pradyumna will overcome the Daitya without any doubt (69cd).

[7o] Both PaśP text editions (Kathmandu 1954 and 1972) read in XI,34 *śakra* in place of *śukra* and translate correspondingly. The two Sanskrit MSS. consulted (NGMPP Nos. A 264/1o and 11) also read *śakra*. The

Adhyāya XII

After Prabhāvatī performs a *maṅgala*, a ceremony to insure success, for Pradyumna's victory (1-3), Nārada counsels an attack first against the Daitya Śaṅkha, who is watching over the dam (4-10). After a brief fight Pradyumna overcomes the Daitya with a kick in the belly (11-17). Startled by Śaṅkha's bellowing, Virādha rises from the lake and bellows in turn (18-19).

Adhyāya XIII

When Mahendradamana hears the bellowing of the Daitya, he rushes over and calls Pradyumna to account (1-14). A fierce fight breaks out between the two, with the advantage going now to the one and now to the other, but in the end Pradyumna is able, with the support of Nārada's coaching, to gain the upper hand (15-37).

Adhyāya XIV

The Vāgvatī appears in the form of a woman and asks Kṛṣṇa, who has come as an onlooker, the free her from her imprisonment in the valley. Kṛṣṇa thereupon makes a breach in the dam (1-11). Due to the water flow-off

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context, however, only permits *śukra*, and in fact this is the reading in the older MS. of the Newari translation (NGMPP No. A 264/5, fol. 25a).

Virādha again comes to the surface (12). On the advice of Nārada Pradyumna turns the turtle-daitya on his back[71] and draws out a jewel from its belly (13-15b). It is again only with the support of Nārada and Garuḍa that Pradyumna is able to win the ensuing single combat (15c-21b). The Vāgvatī thereupon delivers Candrāvatī over to Pradyumna, and to the delight of all Kṛṣṇa now performs the marriage between them (21c-31b). Indra and the Vāgvatī pay reverence to Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna (31c-35), before the latter, together with Prabhāvatī and Candrāvatī, start the voyage home (36-41). On the way Kṛṣṇa makes it known that Sūryaketu has entered into Indra's heaven (42-43), and he shows and explains to his fellow wayfarers individual tīrthas of the Nepal Valley (44-62). Nārada is then sent ahead to Dvārakā to announce the return of the Yādavas so that the homeward bound heroes may receive a fitting reception (63-74).

So much for an outline of the contents. Several peculiarities, if not even inconsistencies, in content in the Pradyumnavijaya chapter point to the fact that the text in its extant form has not been cast 'in a single mold', that is, that it can hardly have flowed from the pen of a single author, but is to be viewed rather as the result of a process of growth and development. The Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP appears to have been revised and expanded on a number of times.

In particular, from clues that the inconsistencies of content in the PaśP text themselves provide, but also occasionally from evidence drawn from the parallel version of the NepM, to be discussed in detail later, it is possible to recognize three text elements or text passages as being subsequent additions:

- the Indradamana-Indra episode,
- those verses dealing with Candrāvatī and her father Sūryaketu,
- the entire text passage VII,19 - X,33.

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[71] The two PaśP editions read in XIV,13c *kṛtotthānam*, which is rendered in the translations (Hindi: *uṭhākar*, Nepali: *uṭhāera*) as though it were *-utthāpanam*. One should probably give preference to the reading in the parallel verse in NepM XI,7a *kṛtvottānam*, which applies nicely to a turtle, well known to be quite helpless when placed on its back, and which is also supported by *parivṛtya punaḥ śīghraṃ saṃkruddhaḥ kacchapāsuraḥ* in PaśP XIV,15cd (= NepM XI,9ab). MS. A 264/10, moreover, also reads *kṛtottānam* (fol. 28b).

A glance at the parallel version of the NepM immediately provides the first clues towards a relative chronology of these subsequent text additions: The Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM contains on the one hand the Indradamana-Indra episode as well as parallel remarks on Candrāvatī and Sūryaketu to corresponding passages of the PaśP, but, on the other hand, it does not have any passage parallel to PaśP VII,19 - X,33, nor does it make any reference to its contents. It can therefore be assumed that the last named text passage was incorporated into the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP later than the two other mentioned text additions. This assumption will be undergirded by considerations of content in the following individual discussions of the three subsequently inserted passages.

The Indradamana-Indra episode

The episode of the battle between Indradamana and Indra in PaśP XI,10-69, connected only loosely with the context of the Pradyumnavijaya, is presumably the oldest of the subsequent text additions mentioned above to the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP. In order to instill courage into Pradyumna, who appears dejected at the prospect of a battle against the Daityas, Nārada relates that Brahmā has already prophesied Pradyumna's victory, and in this context he tells of the Daitya king's years of youth and of his former victory over Indra. This passage contains, in particular, the following two striking discrepancies with the rest of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter:

- The Daitya king, who otherwise in the Pradyumnavijaya chapter is called exclusively 'Mahendradamana', is twice in the passage at hand expressly called 'Indradamana',[72] and, conversely, the name 'Mahendradamana' appears nowhere in this text passage.
- Whereas, furthermore, in the other parts of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter Mahendradamana appears to be merely a local Daitya king of the region

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[72] In PaśP XI,14: *indrasya damanaṃ yas tu kariṣyati mahābalaḥ / itīndradamano nāma khyāyate śāstradarśibhiḥ //*; and in XI,49ab: *tavendradamano nāma satyam adya pravartate /*. The two MSS. of the PaśP available to me (NGMPP Nos. A 264/10 and 11) confirm these readings of the two verses.

around Suprabhā, as Indradamana in Nārada's account of his youthful deeds, he is played up as the lord of the three worlds.

There is the further fact that the episode appears at a place in the Pradyumnavijaya chapter not entirely in keeping with the contents. In the whole of the preceding Pradyumnavijaya text, and here particularly in Nārada's situation report to Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna (VI,13-2o), no mention has been made of any interest on Indra's part in the slaying of Mahendradamana.[73] But now suddenly, in the cited text passage PaśP XI,1o-69, shortly before Pradyumna's attack against the dam and the Daityas, Nārada lets on to the fact that Pradyumna has already long since been chosen to kill the Daitya king in order to avenge Indra for the defeat he suffered earlier at the hand of Mahendradamana. That this late and abrupt piece of additional information from Nārada represented an irregularity in the text, moreover, appears to have been noticed as early as the editing of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter in the NepM, since there the corresponding Indradamana-Indra episode has been shifted forward to Nārada's first report to Kṛṣṇa.[74]

Finally, it must be pointed out that towards the end of the Indradamana episode the thread of the Pradyumnavijaya narrative is again taken up, it being once again described how the Daitya king let the Vāgvatī be dammed up, though it is added, evidently with the future course of events in mind, that he apppointed Śaṅkha to be the protector of the dam and commanded Virādha to dwell henceforth in the lake (PaśP XI,63-65).

All of these observations taken together suggest that the text passage PaśP XI,1o-69 was not originally conceived within the framework of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter but was inserted there only subsequently.

In this connection there is the further point to make that in the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP reference is made in two verses, besides the one cited in ftn. 73, to a part of the Indradamana-Indra episode: in PaśP XII,1o, where Nārada once again, immediately before the attack

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73. PaśP X,5, where Indra is said to be waiting for the day of Pradyumna's victory, forms an exception. But this verse belongs to the large interpolation VII,19 - X,33, which was probably introduced into the text later than the Indradamana-Indra episode.

74. NepM VIII,67c - IX,23.

against the dam and the Daityas, calls upon Pradyumna to fulfill Indra's wish that Mahendradamana be killed; and in PaśP XIII,11, where Pradyumna himself proclaims to Mahendradamana that he has come at the bidding of Indra to kill him. If we assume that the PaśP passage XI,10-69 was only subsequently inserted into the Pradyumnavijaya, then it follows that the two PaśP passages XII,10 and XIII,11 also derive from later redactional modifications, which were undertaken either together with or after the interpolation of the Indradamana-Indra episode. These two references are also found, incidentally, in the corresponding passage in the NepM.[75]

Candrāvatī and Sūryaketu

Apart from the late insertion PaśP VII,19 - X,33 there are three passages in the Pradyumnavijaya chapter in which mention is made of Candrāvatī as being the daughter of Sūryaketu. Each of these, to judge by criteria of content, leaves the impression of having been incorporated subsequently into the text. All three passages have their parallels in corresponding parts of the NepM version, and they will be discussed in greater detail later on in connection with the latter. Here, therefore, reference will only be made to discrepancies in content between the three PaśP passages and their context in the Pradyumnavijaya:

1. Nārada's situation report to Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna (VI,14-20)[76] can be divided into two parts: In the second part (18-20) the Vāgvatī's distress and Prabhāvatī's yearning for Pradyumna are mentioned; this part fits perfectly as to content into the preceding text passage of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter and could well have constituted the original situation report. But verses 14-17, in which Sūryaketu and Candrāvatī are abruptly introduced, were apparently prefaced to this report as a subsequent addition. In particular, although nothing has been said in this regard before, Candrāvatī is described as being destined to become Pradyumna's wife, and Mahendradamana as wanting to abduct her. In Kṛṣṇa's response to Nārada's situation report the Vāgvatī and Prabhāvatī, surprisingly, are only mentioned in passing (25 and 28), whereas the state of affairs surrounding Sūryaketu and particularly Candrāvatī

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[75] NepM X,5 and X,35.

[76] The text is reproduced in its entirety below on p.60 .

is dealt with in relatively great detail, so that the demand made upon Pradyumna that he kill Mahendradamana and marry Candrāvatī is made to seem central to the action.

2. In PaśP XIII,17 Pradyumna gives as the reason for his attacking Mahendradamana the fact that he wants to marry Candrāvatī without let or hindrance. Before that, however, in XIII,11, Pradyumna already declared that he was fighting at the bidding of Indra. The exchance of words between the two opponents has already ended in XIII,14 and the battle already begun in verse 15, when Pradyumna falls back into speech a second time in XIII,17. This second speech could well have been inserted subsequently.

3. In XIV,25c-31b the marriage between Pradyumna and Candrāvatī is described. If we delete the preceding passage XIV,21c-23, in which the Vāgvatī returns Candrāvatī to Pradyumna, and which is dependent upon the late text passage VII,19 - X,33, then here once again Candrāvatī turns up all of a sudden. This abrupt appearance of Candrāvatī seems to have been taken early note of and thus to have led to the above-mentioned interpolation XIV,21c-23.

Each of the three discussed cases in which Candrāvatī is mentioned can be relatively easily removed from its context without leaving gaps in the Pradyumnavijaya narrative. On the other hand, if those cases in which Candrāvatī is mentioned are taken together, there is little that can be said as to Candrāvatī's person. Even her realtion to Sūryaketu is not described in a uniform manner. It is possible that at first Candrāvatī was not even introduced as the daughter of Sūryaketu; in any case, the first time she is mentioned, in Nārada's situation report, she is, while named alongside of Sūryaketu, not explicitly designated as his daughter (VI,14-15); and it is Kṛṣṇa who performs the marriage of Pradyumna and Candrāvatī (XIV,31), reference being made for the first time to a *kanyādāna* by Sūryaketu in the NepM parallel version, not in the PaśP. On the other hand, Sūryaketu is expressly represented in other passages as Candrāvatī's father: in Kṛṣṇa's response to Nārada's situation report (VI,22-28), in XIV,67 (*sūryaketor sutām prāpya...*) and, indirectly, in XIV,43 (quoted on p.45). Here too, then, are possibly represented two stages of development in the Pradyumnavijaya text of the PaśP.

Finally, it must be mentioned in this connection that the Pradyumnavijaya chapter also offers two versions of the figure of Sūryaketu considered in itself, that is, independently of his relationship to Candrāvatī. These are likewise interpretable as two stages of development (which, by the way, are not simply to be correlated with the two above-mentioned stages of development in the relation Candrāvatī-Sūryaketu). Above, in Excursus I, it was shown that in PaśP I,28-45 Sūryaketu is represented as a Vaiṣṇava ascetic, whereas in the NepM he is waiting as a banished king for the opportunity to return to his kingdom. The two different characterizations of Sūryaketu are represented one beside the other in the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP: In XIV,43 Sūryaketu reaches heaven, faithful to the description of PaśP I,28-45; and in another passage it is reported of Sūryaketu that he longs for Śvetakā (VI,14) and that he will in fact return there (VI,27), this in agreement with the portrayal of Sūryaketu in the NepM, from which a relatively late acceptance into the PaśP text is likely to have occurred. In any case, in the lengthy insertion PaśP VII,19 - X,33 discussed below Sūryaketu is described as a world-weary ascetic unable to protect his daughter Candrāvatī from Mahendradamana.

PaśP VII,19 - X,33

A comparison with the parallel Pradyumnavijaya version of the NepM as well as irregularities in content in the PaśP text itself lead to the conclusion that the entire section of the PaśP VII,19 - X,33 was incorporated only subsequently, and at a relatively late period, into the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP. The text passage itself deals with the span of time between a first night of love-making, in which the Gāndharva marriage between Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī is consummated (VII,1-18), and that of another such occasion following their return from Dvārakā (X,34-41). In this interpolated text passage the following events are reported: Early in the morning Pradyumna delivers Candrāvatī over to the charge of the Vāgvatī before proceeding to elope with Prabhāvatī to Dvārakā; Mahendradamana thereupon steals Kṛṣṇa's "fang jewel" from Dvārakā; Kṛṣṇa sends Pradyumna together with Prabhāvatī back to Nepal with instructions to win back the jewel; once in Nepal, the two in common foil Mahendradamana's attempt to abduct Candrāvatī. Thereupon follows the description of the second night of love-making between Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī.

The assumption that the PaśP text passage VII,19 - X,33 is a relatively late interpolation is supported first of all, as said, by a comparison with the parallel version of the NepM. Whereas the other parts of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP, including the Indradamana-Indra episode and the references to Candrāvatī and Sūryaketu, turn up in a similar form in the NepM text, there is no mention made in the latter of the events described as occurring between the two nights of love-making. Again, in the NepM only a single night of love-making is reported: that in which the Gāndharva marriage between Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī takes place, a part of this description agreeing word for word with that of the second night of love-making in Paśp X,34-41. In the NepM the Gāndharva marriage is followed directly by Pradyumna's assault the next morning of the dam and the Daityas.

Furthermore, the PaśP text itself offers support, in the form of irregularities in content, for the assumption that PaśP VII,19 - X,33 has been interpolated:

- In Kṛṣṇa's response to Nārada's situation report a kind of preview is given of major events to follow in the Pradyumnavijaya story (VI,22-28). Kṛṣṇa there promises that Pradyumna will kill Mahendradamana, that he himself will free the Vāgvatī and that, finally, Pradyumna will marry Candrāvatī. This fits the story that follows if the interpolation in VII,19 - X,33 is disregarded. But owing to this interpolation the story takes a different turn: Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna return to Dvārakā, and it is from there, only upon the provocation by Mahendradamana in stealing the jewel, that they once again undertake a campaign against the Daityas in Nepal.
- In the part of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter describing Pradyumna's battle against the Daityas (XII,4 - XIV,21) there is nothing to the effect that Pradyumna's concern is to win back Kṛṣṇa's jewel. It is not even the Daityas whom Pradyumna at first attacks but rather the dam, obviously in order to free the Vāgvatī. In the ensuing battle against the Daityas it is twice stated that he is acting upon the wishes (XII,1o) or at the behest (XIII,11) of Indra, and in another place (XIII,17) that he kills the Daitya king in order to be able to marry Candrāvatī unobstructed. Conversely, Mahendradamana announces why he has long been waiting for an opportunity to fight Pradyumna: in order to take revenge for Pradyumna's having slain Śambara (XIII,14); he says not a single word about the abduction of Prabhāvatī!

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- It is incomprehensible why Pradyumna should have taken Prabhāvatī, with whom he has just eloped from there, along with him back to Nepal, given the fact that he has from Kr̥ṣṇa instructions merely to take to the field against the Daityas. The assumption of an interpolation, however, would explain why Prabhāvatī has to return to Nepal with Pradyumna: More than once she is mentioned as being there in the ensuing text.

If, on the basis of the cited factors, we take the section VII,19 – X,33 of the PaśP to be a sunsequent interpolation, then those places in the rest of the Pradumnavijaya chapter which make a clear reference to this section must naturally also be viewed as later additions to the text. As far as I can tell, there are two such places, both of which are again significantly not in the corresponding passages of the NepM parallel text:

- In PaśP XIV,21c-23 the Vāgvatī gives Candrāvatī back to Pradyumna; it is precisely this passage which is missing in the corresponding parallel passage of the NepM,[77] which otherwise agrees with it almost word for word.
- In PaśP XIV,37a Kr̥ṣṇa is described as *daṃṣṭrāratnaśriyā yukta*; the corresponding pāda in the otherwise identical NepM verse reads instead: *haricandanaliptāṅga*.

In addition, mention must be made of still a third passage, namely PaśP XIV,14-15b, where Pradyumna cuts a jewel out of Virādha's belly (*kukṣigataṃ ratnam*). In the above-mentioned PaśP text editions this jewel has been uniformily interpreted as being the stolen "fang jewel" of Kr̥ṣṇa, which according to PaśP VIII,39 Mahendradamana has entrusted to the care of Virādha. Telling against this identification, which is not by any means explicitly made in PaśP XIV,14-15b, is above all the fact that this passage has a parallel in NepM XI,7-8, according to which Pradyumna cuts a number of jewels (*sarvaratnāni* in 8a) out of Virādha's belly. From everything that has been said up to now one may assume that the editor who inserted the Pradyumnavijaya chapter into the NepM likely knew nothing about the lengthy interpolation PaśP VII,19 – X,33 that has come down to us.

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[77] PaśP XIV,20c-21b corresponds to NepM XI,15; PaśP XIV,21c-23 does not have anything corresponding to it in the NepM; and PaśP XIV,24-25b corresponds to NepM XI,16-17b.

In the analysis of the text up to now the attempt has been made to decompose the Pradyumnavijaya text of the PaśP into what I take to be its most important constituents, the method used being that of isolating individual passages and demonstrating that they are subsequent interpolations. The ensuing task is now, conversely, to put the text back together again, so to speak, that is, to retrace the historical development of the text responsible for the form in which it has come down to us. The considerations presented up to now would lead one to infer that there were a number of stages in the text's historical development. These will once again be set forth, this time in their connection with one another, and at the same time the attempt will be made to identify the motives for the additions and changes in each stage of the text:

- The Pradyumnavijaya chapter without the two mentioned lengthier interpolations and without the references to Candrāvatī was at first a relatively simple, locally circumscribed narrative: A Daitya king rules over the region of the Nepal Valley and, for the sake of his sister Prabhāvatī, has the Vāgvatī dammed up within the valley as a pleasure lake. Prabhāvatī does not want to marry any Daitya, and with the help of Devī she succeeds in luring Pradyumna to Nepal along with Kṛṣṇa. On the advice of Nārada Pradyumna secretly marries Prabhāvatī in the night. The next morning he makes an assault against the dam, provoking thereby the resistance of the Daityas, whom he is nevertheless able to defeat in battle. The freeing of the Vāgvatī, however, is reserved for Kṛṣṇa, obviously in order to set this deed out in relief within the narrative.
  In this oldest recoverable stage of development of the narrative the Daitya king does not appear to have been represented as being particularly malicious or threatening. His misdeed consisted in having dammed up the Vāgvatī, or, to express it in mythological terms, in having taken the Vāgvatī prisoner. But otherwise he was portrayed as the dutifully solicitous brother of Prabhāvatī.
- This impression was presumably intended to be thoroughly overhauled by the introduction of the Indradamana-Indra episode, in which the Daitya king is now played up to be the lord of the three worlds, becoming really for the first time thereby a suitable opponent for Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna. By means of this insertion the center of gravity of the Pradyumnavijaya legend, which had before lain clearly upon the freeing of the Vāgvatī, is now shifted to the point where a distinct motive is

ascribed to Pradyumna for fighting specifically against the Daitya king: to obtain redress for Indra's former defeat and humiliation, and to do away with once and for all the threat represented by the Daitya to law and order.

- But after the Daitya king, as the main opponent of Pradyumna, had moved more into the central focus of the narrative, it may have been felt as a shortcoming that Pradyumna, especially before the mention of the Indradamana-Indra episode, still did not have any motive of his own to do battle with him. In order to alter this state of affairs, but also too, in all probability, to illustrate the actual threat to law and order coming from such a reprobate being, the references to Candrāvatī were likely brought in as additions.
- But a still later redactor of the PaśP evidently found the given state of affairs now doubly unsatisfying, and so was prompted to make two additions to the text in one single large interpolation (VII,19 - X,33):
    - On the one hand, a detailed account is now given of Candrāvatī, by means of which the above-mentioned violence done to the narrative flow by the references to her - Nārada's abrupt declaration that Mahendradamana wants to abduct her, as well as her sudden reappearance for the marriage with Pradyumna - is toned down or even eliminated: To give substance to Nārada's declaration a description of an attempted abduction by Mahendradamana is supplied, and, as regards the whereabouts and sudden reappearance of Candrāvatī, it is reported that Pradyumna delivered her over to the care of the Vāgvatī and, after successfully prosecuted battles, received her back.
    - On the other hand, Pradyumna's motivation for his battle with the Daitya king was obviously intended to be once again bolstered up. Mahendradamana, who in the meantime has already risen from a local prince to the lord of the world, and so become a threat to world order, magnifies his outrages to the point where he challenges Kṛṣṇa himself. The latter thereupon pledges his destruction, which on the basis of Brahmā's decree, however, can only be brought about by Pradyumna. Pradyumna himself is in the end also subjected to the provocation of Mahendradamana's attempting to abduct Candrāvatī before his very eyes the night before the battle.

As far as I can see, the above-mentioned stages in the historical development of the text show no signs of sectarian motivation. All the redactional changes mentioned so far are explainable on the basis of irregularities in content, and the revisers' motives in dealing with them; these concern the narrative flow of action but hardly touch upon the legend's religious and sectarian components. The narrative stock of the Pradyumnavijaya was surely not merely a simple heroic story with Pradyumna accidentally in the main role, but undoubtedly belonged rather to the mythological lore surrounding Kṛṣṇa, having arisen most probably within circles in Nepal devoted to the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu. Two passages, in particular, that may well have belonged to the oldest form of the legend, make this clear:[78] In PaśP XIV,2-1o the Vāgvatī, in the form of a woman, recites a detailed *stuti* in praise of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, in which, among other things, different avatars of Viṣṇu are enumerated; and in XIV,44-62 Kṛṣṇa describes the main Vaiṣṇava tīrthas of the Nepal Valley. Again, the two sections of the PaśP text to have presumably been subsequently interpolated fit in easily under the assumption of coming from Vaiṣṇava circles.

The curious state of affairs thereby results that a fairly developed form of the Vaiṣṇava Pradyumnavijaya legend, constituting the major part of the old Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā, has for all purposes been preserved unchanged in the unified Śaiva work handed down to us as the PaśP. With the exception of a text passage to be discussed below, I have not in the whole of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP found any evidence whatsoever of a revision along Śaiva lines.

In the one exception, however, at the beginning of Kṛṣṇa's description of the main tīrthas of the Nepal Valley in PaśP XIV,42-48, the Śaiva tone is unmistakable:

42 *vilokya dharaṇīṃ puṇyāṃ vāgvatījalaśobhinīm /*
prahṛṣṭo bhagavān viṣṇur idaṃ vacanam abravīt //
43 *tvadvivāhaṃ samālokya sūryaketur narādhipaḥ /*
sa mānuṣeṇa dehena prāgāc chakrapuraṃ śubham //

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[78] I have not found anything, in any case, that would point to these two text passages as being a later insertion.

44 *paśya dakṣiṇabhāgena mṛgaśṛṅgasya bhūbhṛtaḥ /*
candradīptitaṭe puṇye sthānaṃ mama bhaviṣyati //
45 *siṃhavaktravapur bhūtvā tatra sthāsyāmi kāraṇāt /*
pūjayiṣyanti lokāś ca mama bhaktiparāyaṇāḥ //
46 *indreśvaraṃ pratiṣṭhāpya cendranadyāḥ śubhe taṭe /*
āgacchad bhagavān indro yajñakāryaparo 'bhavat //
47 *mama bhaktiparo dhīmān yad āyāto mahīpatiḥ /*
bhaviṣyati mamāvāso dolāśikharamūrdhani //
48 *śikharasvāminaṃ caivaṃ kīrtayiṣyanti bhūtale /*
pūjayiṣyanti lokāś ca tatra vyaktaṃ vṛṣadhvajam //

Kṛṣṇa here begins his description of the principal Vaiṣṇava tīrthas with the Mṛgendraśikhara, which is here, however, called *mṛgaśṛṅga*,[79] and following that, as a second place of importance, the mountain Dolāśikhara. The following is of note in the cited passage:

- the PaśP verse XIV,43 is intimately connected with the Sūryaketu episode in the version of PaśP I,28-45, and the half-verse XIV,47ab probably ought to be taken as referring to Sūryaketu too. In my opinion, this half-verse does not belong to the following description of Dolāśikhara[8o] but to the preceding text, and it is possible that it originally occurred directly after vers 45. Lines 45cd and 47ab, read one directly after the other, would then be understood in the following way:

  > "My worshipers will pay homage [to me here], because my worshiper, the wise king [Sūryaketu] came [here too]."

  If this interpretation is correct, then verse 46, which does not fit very well the contents of this passage, in that it describes the erecting of a Śivaliṅga called Indreśvara,[81] would have to be deemed a sub-

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79. The mention of Sūryaketu in 43 and Viṣṇu as Narasiṃha in 45a is doubtless indication enough that what is here meant is Mṛgendraśikhara. The Newari translation (NGMPP No. A 264/5) also has *mṛgendragiri* in the corresponding verse (fol. 36b).

8o. That is how the Hindi and Nepali translators interpret these lines in the above-mentioned PaśP editions (Kathmandu 1954 and 1972); in addition, both read *yadā yāto* instead of *yad āyāto*.

81. Uebach (NepM edition, pp. 34ff.) mentions two liṅgas with the name Indreśvara, neither of which, however, to judge by the topographical data supplied there, fits this text.

sequent Śaiva interpolation. The fact that Sūryaketu is said in verse 43 to enter Indra's city rather than Viṣṇu's may likewise derive, as suggested briefly above (p.17), from a Śaiva reviser as an intended form of 'neutralization'.[82]

- The second Vaiṣṇava shrine to be named is the mountain Dolāśikhara in PaśP XIV,47c-48. What is meant is without a doubt the mountain ridge projecting into the Nepal Valley from the east, on which one of Nepal's most important Vaiṣṇava shrines, today known under the name Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, has been located since early times. This accords with the fact that Kṛṣṇa designates this spot in PaśP XIV,47cd as his own place of abode. But then in the following verse 48 - in any case, in the reading of the PaśP editions as well as one of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the PaśP utilized[83] - it is reinterpreted as a Śaiva place of pilgrimage:

> "Men will extol [Dolāśikhara as] the lord of mountains on earth and worship [Śiva], whose banner bears a bull, as the one manifested there."

In the manuscript of the Newari translation of the PaśP,[84] on the contrary, there is no mention in the present passage of Śiva:

> *dolāgirisaṃ je cone śikharasvāmi dhakaṃ,*
> *jana mūrti pūjā yāyuva.*
>
> "I sojourn on Dolā Mountain, [called] 'the lord of mountains'. [There] men will worship my idol."

Nor in the parallel verse of the NepM, XI,83c-84b, is Śiva mentioned:

> *śikharaṃ śreṣṭham ity eva*[85] *kīrtayiṣyanti bhūtale //*
> *pūjayiṣyanti lokāś ca suvyaktaṃ makaradhvaja /*

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[82] Cf. what is said above in ftn. 48 concerning this verse.

[83] NGMPP No. A 264/10. fol. 30b.

[84] NGMPP No. A 264/5, fols. 36b-37a.

[85] As a variant to XI,83c Uebach gives in the critical apparatus of her NepM edition: *śikharasvāmi ity evaṃ*.

> "Men will extol [Dolāśikhara as] the best mountain on earth, and they will worship [me] as one who is [there] well manifested, O Makaradhvaja (= Kāma = Pradyumna)."[86]

The NepM is, I think, close to the older reading.[87]

To judge by the Newari translation of the PaśP, the present PaśP text passage seems also to have undergone a Śaiva revision at only a relatively late period. One may conclude, therefore, that in the Pradyumnavijaya episode the Vaiṣṇava version was taken up into the unified Śaiva work almost without, or perhaps at the beginning even entirely without, redactional changes of a Śaiva nature.

The PaśP as a whole, then, takes on the following appearance: As was said above, the first fourteen adhyāyas, entitled Vāgvatīmāhātmyapraśaṃsā, were likely to have been in origin a Vaiṣṇava text, which was then prefaced to the older PaśP in a state at first by and large unaltered. The compiler of the two works thus appears to have been concerned first and foremost with adopting the Vāgvatī myths in their given state and less with transforming them straightway to accord with Śaiva thought. This may perhaps be explained as follows: The second part of the PaśP (adhyāyas XV ff.) was devoted to the mythology of Śiva as Paśupati in the Nepal Valley. Since the main shrine, Paśupati Temple, lies on the Vāgvatī, it is obvious that there should be a desire to append to the Paśupati mythology a Vāgvatī mythology. But the mythology on the Vāgvatī had evidently already been worked up by the Vaiṣṇavas, and was already so widely known and established that the adoption of these myths with a view to underscoring the Vāgvatī's significance appeared to the Śaivas to be at first more promising than offering new and opposing versions of their own, which would have perhaps only with great difficulty prevailed against the more well-known older ones.

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[86] Uebach translates NepM XI,84ab differently: "Und sie sollen den hell glänzenden (Berg) verehren, o Makaradhvaja."

[87] One might be tempted to cast doubts upon *makaradhvaja* for its being an expletory vocatice and to take the reading of the NepM, therefore, to be secondary; but similar vocatives occur in PaśP XIV,51d (*makaradhvaja*) and 52d (*jhaṣadhvaja*) and have word-for-word parallels in the NepM (in XI,109b and 110b). The PaśP manuscript NGMPP No. A 264/11, fol. 24a has at the end of XIV,48 *jhaṣadhvajam*, which should surely be replaced by the vocative form *jhaṣadhvaja*.

Once the Vāgvatī mythology was taken up by the Śaivas, however, efforts were in fact made to adapt the Vaiṣṇava legends to their mythological framework, so that changes were made at least here and there to accord with Śaiva thought. The first tentative steps in this direction have been noted in the sections of the PaśP already discussed.

The incorporation of the Vaiṣṇava Vāgvatī myths into Śaiva mythology does not, however, appear to have been simply accepted by the Vaiṣṇavas without further ado. As we saw above in Excursus I, in particular in the discussion of the NepM text passage, the Vaiṣṇavas did defend themselves against Śaiva ingressions, this in turn apparently calling forth strong reactions on the part of the Śaivas. The discussion of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM to follow will provide an example of a very similar course of development: a lively conflict between Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva over the second Vāgvatī myth.

The Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the Nepālamāhātmya

The Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM comprises the text passage VII,29 - XII,59. On the one hand, it shows many correspondences with the previously discussed version of the PaśP, both in content and, over large stretches, in wording; on the other hand, there are a whole series of discrepancies in and additions to the content. Before its relation to the PaśP version is gone into in detail, the contents of the above-mentioned chapters of the NepM will again first be recapitulated in their narrative progression:

VII,29-32

Mārkaṇḍeya mentions that it was Kṛṣṇa who set up the two Śivaliṅgas Svarṇaśṛṅgeśvara and Kīleśvara in Nepal after Pradyumna had killed Mahendradamana. Jaimini asks for more details. Mārkaṇḍeya begins the narration:

VII,33-70

In the city of Śvetakā there once ruled King Sūryaketu, who was a worshiper of Viṣṇu. But one day he was defeated by the Mithilā king Haṃsadhvaja and driven from his kingdom. Nārada advised him to repair to Mṛgendraśikhara and to wait there for Kṛṣṇa to lead him back to Śvetakā. In response to a question by Sūryaketu Nārada explained the origin of the name Mṛgendraśikhara and recounted how the Vāgmatī came into being. Finally, Sūryaketu together with his entire family made the journey to Mṛgendraśikhara.

VIII,1-55b

In the vicinity of Mṛgendraśikhara, in Suprabhā, there lived the Daitya king Mahendradamana together with his beautiful sister Prabhāvatī. She paid reverence to Pārvatī, until the latter, being satisfied, promised her Pradyumna as a husband. Mahendradamana laid out a park on the mountain Candanā for his sister and dammed up the Vāgmatī for her. When Sūryaketu discovered that the Daitya king was living in his vicinity he was greatly perturbed. Mahendradamana for his part was told by a retainer about Sūryaketu's beautiful daughter Candrāvatī, and he proceeded to ask Sūryaketi for her hand in marriage. Sūryaketu did not dare turn down the proposal, but he declared that his daughter was still too young and that the marriage could only be performed at some future date. The Daitya acquiesced. Sūryaketu was at wit's end, until Nārada appeared and firmed up his spirits with the promise that he would enlist the help of Pradyumna, to whom he told Sūryaketu to give his daughter. On the way to Dvārakā Nārada came across Prabhāvatī on the mountain Candanā, and he informed her that he was going to bring Pradyumna to Nepal. Prabhāvatī warned him of her brothers Śaṅkha, Virādha and Mahendradamana. Nārada counseled her not to go to Suprabhā but to await his return on Candanā.

VIII,55c - IX,25b

Nārada rushed to Dvārakā, where he was greeted by Kṛṣṇa. He described the situation in Nepal and asked Kṛṣṇa to send Pradyumna to kill Mahendradamana and then to have him marry Prabhāvatī and Candrāvatī. When Kṛṣṇa proposed to kill Mahendradamana himself, Nārada recalled that according to a decree of Brahmā's only Pradyumna was able to do such. In response to Kṛṣṇa's question as to what the occasion was upon which Brahmā had made this decree, Nārada narrated the following episode: Mahendradamana had wanted as a young man to be true to his name. He practiced religious austerity, until Brahmā fulfilled his wish of making him unconquerable by the gods. Thereupon Mahendradamana challenged Indra to battle and defeated him. But when he thereafter wished to march upon Amarāvatī, Brahmā allowed him only a single plundering and then sent him back to Suprabhā. Afterwards Brahmā consoled the downcast Indra with the promise that Pradyumna would one day kill Mahendradamana. After finishing his account, Nārada once again asked Kṛṣṇa to allow Pradyumna to go with him to Nepal. Kṛṣṇa consented.

IX,25c - X,8

Nārada and Pradyumna reached Candanā, where Prabhāvatī was longingly waiting for them. Nārada introduced Pradyumna to her. Prabhāvatī expressed her doubts as to whether Pradyumna could hold his own against Mahendradamana. She declared, moreover, her scruples at associating with her brother's enemy. But Nārada calmed her down by alluding to the fact that Pradyumna's victory over Mahendradamana as well as his marriage to her was predestined and so inalterable. Nārada absented himself overnight, and Pradyumna carried out a Gāndharva marriage with Prabhāvatī. The next morning Nārada returned.

Now it was Pradyumna who was overcome by doubts of victory. Nārada once more referred him to Brahmā's decree. Prabhāvatī performed a *maṅgala* for Pradyumna's victory.

X,9 - XI,15

On the advice of Nārada Pradyumna challenged to battle first Śaṅkha, who was guarding the Vāgmatī Lake dam, and slew him. At the latter's bellowing Mahendradamana appeared. A fierce battle broke out with the advantage going back and forth, but which Pradyumna, with Nārada's coaching, finally won. After Mahendradamana had fallen, the Vāgmatī appeared in the form of a woman and asked Kṛṣṇa, who had come as an observer, to free her from her imprisonment in the valley. Kṛṣṇa thereupon split open the dam with his discus. While the water level of the lake was sinking, the Daitya Virādha came into view. He tried to lift two mountains and so restore the dam, but Kṛṣṇa prevented this by setting the liṅgas Svarṇaśṛṅgeśvara and Kīleśvara each on one of the mountains, which by this means were rendered immovable. A battle ensued between Pradyumna and Virādha. With Nārada's coaching, Garuḍa's assistence and Kṛṣṇa's discus Pradyumna was also finally able to defeat and kill Virādha.

XI,16-72

When Sūryaketu learned of the defeat of the Daityas, he went to the source of the Viṣṇumatī,[88] and set up an idol of Viṣṇu resting on the

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[88] This is based on a conjecture. All four NepM editions read:

XI,19 *harṣanirbharasaṃyuktaḥ sūryaketur narādhipaḥ /*
tasyāṃ rajanyāṃ sagaṇo viṣṇum abhyudbhavasthalīm //
20 *adhityakāṃ yayau śīghram...*

Pāda 19d in this form is problematic from a grammatical point of view, and its meaning too is scarcely intelligible. The translators have passed by the problem: Uebach translates: "Der König ... begab sich ... zu der Stelle, wo sich Viṣṇu gezeigt hatte"; Sharma, in his Hindi translation, offers: ...*viṣṇu-kī udbhavasthalīvālī adhityakā-ko ... gaye*"; and Khanal leaves pāda 19d entirely out of his Nepali translation. In my opinion, 19d is to be read: *viṣṇumatyudbhavasthalīm* (in some Newari MSS. *tya* and *bhya* can scarcely be distinguished from one another). King Sūryaketu, then, would have gone to the headwaters of the Viṣṇumatī and there set up a sculpture of Viṣṇu resting upon the serpent Ananta. As a matter of fact, the Viṣṇumatī rises in the very near vicinity of Būḍhānīlakaṇṭha (to the north of Kathmandu), where a corresponding figure of Viṣṇu from the seventh serpent Ananta. He approached Kṛṣṇa full of bhakti and was granted a free wish. Sūryaketu asked Kṛṣṇa to go with him to Mṛgendraśikhara in order to attend Pradyumna's and Candrāvatī's wedding. Kṛṣṇa promised to do so. Along the way Kṛṣṇa paid reverence to Śiva as Paśupati. Munis and brahmans came rushing to see Viṣṇu and Śiva present at one and the same place. Their leader, Nemi, declared that Viṣṇu and Śiva were identical, whereupon he was designated by Paśupati to be the protector of Nepal.[89] When Sūryaketu, Kṛṣṇa etc. arrived on top of Mṛgendraśikhara, the marriage between Pradyumna and Candrāvatī was performed. Everyone expressed joy at the way the adventures in Nepal had ended.

XI,73 - XII,51

Kṛṣṇa and his retinue made preparations for their return to Dvārakā. Once they had taken to the air upon Garuḍa and a sky chariot, Kṛṣṇa started describing to his travel companions the holy places of the Nepal Valley. Along the way Kṛṣṇa set up the Gopāleśvaraliṅga, and Pradyumna the Śikharanārāyaṇaliṅga. Kṛṣṇa sent Nārada ahead to Dvārakā to announce his return. After Nārada had delivered his report in Dvārakā, preparations were made to greet the heroes in a way befitting them. Kṛṣṇa for his part first accompanied King Sūryaketu to Śvetakā. He commanded King Haṃsadhvaja to return Sūryaketu's kingdom to him. Haṃsadhvaja complied, paid Kṛṣṇa homage and retired to Mithilā. Full of gratitude, Sūryaketu gave farewell presents to the Yādavas in abundance. The Yādavas continued on to Dvārakā, where they were warmly welcomed by the inhabitants and celebrated as heroes.

XII,52-59

In the end are recounted the benefits to be obtained by reciting and listening to the Pradyumnavijaya story.

Thus the contents of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter in the NepM. In order to give an overview of the correspondences and differences in content

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century may still be found; cf. especially Slusser and Vajrācārya 1973, pp. 84ff.

[89] This is a folk-etymological explanation of the name 'Nepal' (from *Ne(mi)* and *pāla*); cf. Burton-Page 1954, pp. 593f.

between the NepM and PaśP version, there now follows a tabular comparison of the contents of the two texts. The divisions proposed in this table and marked with capital letters do not refer to thematic transitions in the texts, but are based solely on the relation of the text passages of the NepM and PaśP to one another.

	PaśP	NepM
A		VII,29-32 Mention of the setting up of Svarṇaśṛṅgeśvara and Kīleśvara
B	(I,24c-6o)	VII,33-7o - Sūryaketu journeys to Mṛgendraśikhara - Origin of the name Mṛgendraśikhara - Origin of the Vāgmatī
C	V,7-28 - Mahendradamana rules over Suprabhā - He dams up the Vāgmatī for Prabhāvatī - Pārvatī promises Prabhāvatī to make Pradyumna her husband	VIII,1-12
D		VIII,13-44b - Mahendradamana asks for the hand of Candrāvatī - Nārada promises Sūryaketu to enlist the help of Pradyumna
E	VI,1-12 - Pārvatī has Pradyumna set out on a tīrtha pilgrimage - Kṛṣṇa accompanies him	VIII,44c-58 - Nārada tells Prabhāvatī he will go and bring Pradyumna - Nārada's arrival in Dvārakā

	- Arrival at the source of the Vāgvatī and meeting with Nārada	
F	VI,13-29 - Nārada's situation report and request for help - Kṛṣṇa promises to help	VIII,59-67b
G	(XI,9-71)	VIII,67c-IX,23 Nārada's account of the battle between Mahendradamana and Indra
H	VII,1-18 Pradyumna's Gāndharva marriage with Prabhāvatī	IX,24-66 - Nārada and Pradyumna travel to Nepal and meet Prabhāvatī - Nārada silences Prabhāvatī's reservations about a Gāndharva marriage with Pradyumna - Pradyumna's Gāndharva marriage with Prabhāvatī
I	VII,19-X,33 - Pradyumna delivers Candrāvatī over to the charge of the Vāgvatī - He abducts Prabhāvatī to Dvārakā - Nārada advises Mahendradamana to steal Kṛṣṇa's jewel - Mahendradamana steals the jewel - Kṛṣṇa sends Pradyumna back to Nepal - The Vāgvatī's situation report	

	- Mahendradamana's attempt to abduct Candrāvatī is foiled	
J	X,34-XI,5 - Pradyumna's night of love-making with Prabhāvatī - Nārada rouses Pradyumna to battle	IX,67-X,5
K	XI,6-71 Nārada's account of the battle between Mahendradamana and Indra	(VIII,67c-IX,23)
L	XII,1-XIV,11 Prabhāvatī's *maṅgala* for Pradyumna's victory - Battle between Pradyumna and Śaṅkha - Battle between Pradyumna and Mahendradamana - Freeing of the Vāgvatī by Kṛṣṇa	X,6-70
M		X,71-XI,6b Kṛṣṇa erects Svarṇaśṛṅgeśvara and Kīleśvara
N	XIV,12-25b Battle between Pradyumna and Virādha	
O_1 O_2		XI,17c-40 - Sūryaketu worships Kṛṣṇa XI,41-62b - Kṛṣṇa worships Paśupati - Nemi episode
P	XIV,25c-50 -Marriage between Pradyumna and Candrāvatī - Departure from Mṛgendraśikhara - Start of Kṛṣṇa's description of the tīrthas	XI,62c-86b

Q		XI,86c-108b - Continuation of the description of the tīrthas
R	XIV,51-63 End of the description of the tīrthas	XI,108c-121
S		XII,1-6b Erection of two further liṅgas
T	XIV,63-72 - Kṛṣṇa sends Nārada ahead to Dvārakā - Preparations in Dvārakā for the reception of the Yādavas	XII,6c-18
U		XII,19-49 Sūryaketu's return to Śvetakā
V	XIV,73-75 - Arrival of the Yādavas in Dvārakā - Benefits obtained by reciting the Pradyumnavijaya chapter	XII,50-52

Before taking up in greater detail the common and separate features evident from the preceding comparison, we must first draw attention to the word-for-word correspondences as well as to the clear similarities in wording between both texts. From this point of view, the two texts cited may roughly be split up into two parts:

- In the first part - sections A to I (with the exception of G) - there are found only very sporadically verses or parts of verses with a similar reading. Even where the two versions come close to one another in content, they still generally diverge in linguistic form.
- In contrast, in the second part - sections J to V (with the exception of K) - the PaśP text agrees almost continuously more or less word for word with the corresponding sections of the NepM, namely in sections J, L, N, P, R, T and V.

- Only sections G and K, corresponding to one another in content, form an exception: On the one hand, section K, which belongs to the second part of the PaśP, appears in the first part of the NepM (section G), and, on the other, the two text passages have parts each with a linguistic form of its own, along with a series of verse groups in total or partial mutual agreement.

Since in the first part, the two texts appear in relatively divergent forms, both as to content and to wording, more detailed studies are first needed before establishing the relationship of each text to the other. For the second part, on the contrary, it is relatively easy to form a fairly clear idea of the historical connection between the text of the two parallel passages: NepM X,67 - XII,59 is obviously based on a source which must have been at least very similar to our text of PaśP X,34 - XIV-75. It is clear that this source has by and large been taken over complete and unaltered, though it has been extended by a series of interpolations, in part quite lengthy. These prefatory remarks on the historical relationship between the two versions of the Pradyumnavijaya should be kept in mind in what follows, when the details of the common and separate features are taken up section by section.

A and M:

Sections A and M of the NepM are related closely to one another in content, in that in both the erecting by Kṛṣṇa of two Śivaliṅgas with the names Svarṇaśṛṅgeśvara and Kīleśvara is dealt with. In the PaśP text the corresponding sections are missing, with section N taking up exactly where section L leaves off. Sections A and M, which show, by the way, clear traces of Śaiva thought, must therefore be viewed as additions in the NepM. In Section A the erecting of the two Śivaliṅgas has been placed in front of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter in order to occasion its narration, this in accordance with the overall Śaiva bias of the NepM.

B, O_1 and U:

NepM VII,33-7o, together with the PaśP passage I,24c-6o, has already been dealt with in Excursus I in some detail. Although the cited PaśP text passage is evidently to be viewed as being independent of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter, we have also seen that the figure of Sūryaketu may possibly already have been mentioned in XIV,43 in some previous stage of development of the chapter, and that he is often mentioned later as the father of Candrāvatī. In the NepM, in contrast, both the counterpart to the Sūryaketu episode in PaśP I,24c-70 as well as the figure of Sūryaketu as father of Candrāvatī appear in an elaborated form within the Pradyumnavijaya chapter. The Sūryaketu episode, which was at first independent of the figure of Candrāvatī, has been altered and extended in the NepM. Apart from section B, which in content is related to PaśP I,24c-60, the events in Sūryaketu's life are dealt with in two further sections: In section O_1 (= NepM XI,17c-40) Sūryaketu is once again emphatically portrayed as a bhakta of Viṣṇu, and in section U (= NepM XII,19-49) Kṛṣṇa sees to it that Sūryaketu returns to Śvetakā. By a comparison with the parallel PaśP text, and due to considerations of content, the two latter named sections can easily be separated from their context and identified as insertions. The three Sūryaketu sections (B, O_1 and U) are obviously all of one piece from the point of view of content, and presumably have been subsequently worked into the Pradyumnavijaya legend by one and the same redactor. This redactor was to all appearances a Vaiṣṇava, all three sections clearly bearing the signature of that persuasion. This has already been noted specifically with regard to section B above in Excursus I; the point was made then, however, that the text has in part (especially in VII,50c-66b) subsequently been resupplied with clearly Śaiva additions.

C:

The two texts are here of similar content, but, with the exception of one almost identical half-verse,[90] diverge in wording. What is striking is the fact that the PaśP contains a version whose contents have been elaborated in comparison with the NepM: In the NepM it is said of Prabhāvatī merely that she keeps worshiping Pārvatī until promised Pradyumna as a husband (NepM VIII,3c-8), whereas in PaśP V,9-28 there is the detailed description of how Prabhāvatī is swamped with Daitya suitors, though she does not want to marry a Daitya, and how she finally takes to worshiping Pārvatī in order to obtain Pradyumna. It is my impression that in the PaśP the contents have more likely been enlarged in scope than that they should have been shortened in the NepM.

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[90] Cf. PaśP V,12ab (*udyānāni vicitrāṇi candanāgirimūrdhani*) with NepM VIII,9cd (*udyānaṃ dānavaś cakre candanāgirimūrdhani*).

D:

The NepM passage VIII,13-44b contains an episode about Sūryaketu and his daughter Candrāvatī finding themselves in a great predicament as a result of Mahendradamana's marriage proposal. This text passage does not have any direct parallel in the corresponding section of the PaśP, but it is obviously closely related to the references to Candrāvatī taken note of in the discussion of the PaśP text. It has already been said that these references date from a relatively early stage of textual development, anteceding, no doubt, the two versions of the Pradyumnavijaya, that of the PaśP and of the NepM, to have come down to us. In the PaśP version of Nārada's situation report there is the unanticipated account of Mahendradamana's wanting to abduct Candrāvatī, whereas in the NepM a more or less appropriate episode has gone before (that seems, however, more tailored to further the characterization of Sūryaketu than that of Candrāvatī) in which Mahendradamana formally asks Sūryaketu for the hand of Candrāvatī, throwing him into great despair, as he dare not say so. Thus Candrāvatī here again remains in the background, while Sūryaketu's fate, as in section B, O_1 and U, is once more highlighted.

E and F:

Whereas the two text versions in section E describe differently the circumstances under which the meeting between Nārada and Kṛṣṇa comes about, in section F there is again a clear parallelism, especially in Nārada's situation report:

	PaśP VI		Nep VIII
14	*bhagavan puṇḍarīkākṣa*	60cd	*haṃsadhvajabhayād bhītaḥ*
	sūryaketur narādhipaḥ /		*sūryaketur narādhipaḥ //*
	cirakāloṣitas tatra	61	*vihāya śvetakāṃ śīghraṃ*
	śvetakāpurikāṅkṣayā //		*mṛgendraśikharaṃ yayau /*
15	*sā rājaduhitā devī*		*candrāvatī tasya kanyā*
	pradyumnāya prakalpitā /		*pradyumnāya prakalpitā //*
	nāmnā candrāvatī gītā		
	candrabimbanibhānanā //		

16	*tāṃ hartum īhate devīṃ* *mahendradamano 'suraḥ /* *saṃmohād eva durbuddhir* *apradānān mahīpateḥ //*	62	*tāṃ yācate mahābhīmo* *mahendradamano 'suraḥ /*
17	*ataḥ pūrṇenduvadanāṃ* *nīlotpaladalekṣaṇām /* *rūpātiśāyinīṃ devīṃ* *vivāhe gṛhyatāṃ vibho*[91] *//*		
18	*dīrghakālaniruddhāṅgī* *candanāgirimālayā /* *vāgvatī ca saricchreṣṭhā* *gaṅgāṃ draṣṭuṃ samīhate //*		
19	*punaḥ prabhāvatī nāma* *rājaputrī yaśasvinī /* *pradyumnaṃ rūpiṇāṃ śreṣṭhaṃ* *kāṅkṣate tapasāsakṛt //*		*daityasya bhaginī divyā* *nāmnā devī prabhāvatī //*
		63	*tasyai patiḥ purā kḷptaḥ* *pradyumno girikanyayā /* *pradyumnaḥ preṣyatāṃ tatra* *mahendradamano 'suraḥ //*
2o	*ato 'driśikhare ramye* *pradyumnena mahātmanā /* *adyaikāṃ rajanīm atra* *vastavyaṃ mama śāsanāt //*	64	*hantavyas tava putreṇa* *nātra kāryā vicāraṇā /* *pradyumnaḥ preṣyatām atra* *mayā sākaṃ sureśvara //*
		65	*prabhāvatyā vivāhaś ca* *candrāvatyās tathaiva ca /* *mahendradamanaś caiva* *hantavyas tava sūnunā //*

The following differences between the two parallel passages are noteworthy:

- As stated above, the PaśP passage may be split up into two parts, namely into a presumably older core passage (18-2o) and an addition prefaced to it (14-17). Both parts are constructed in such a way that Nārada in each case first recounts certain events and at the end makes a request. In the NepM, in contrast, he offers the two accounts jointly (6o-63b), and only then does he present, combined, the attendant requests (63c-65). Especially emphatic is the demand, twice enuntiated (63d-64a and 65cd), that Mahendradamana be killed by Pradyumna, something which in the PaśP version is first brought up in Kṛṣṇa's reply (*bhaviṣyati vadhas tasya pradyumnena* ..., 24cd). To judge by the construction of the two cited text passages, one may assume that the NepM version represents the further advanced stage of development.

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[91] The construction is anacoluthic. In one of the manuscripts (NGMPP No. A 264/11) there is a divergent but grammatically no better reading: ... *devīṃ vivāhaḥ kriyatāṃ vibho* (fol. 9a).

- Whereas in the PaśP verse 15 Candrāvatī is not yet explicitly called Sūryaketu's daughter, in the NepM verse 61c this is clearly stated.
- According to PaśP 16ab Mahendradamana wants to abduct Candrāvatī; in NepM 62ab, on the contrary, it is stated, in agreement with section D, that Mahendradamana is wooing her. This latter version, which to a certain extent shifts the worry from Candrāvatī onto Sūryaketu, has already been identified as secondary.
- Of further note is the fact that the dire condition of the Vāgvatī as described in PaśP 18 is not mentioned at all in its NepM counterpart. As before in Nārada's emphatically delivered petition that Pradyumna kill Mahendradamana, so too here one sees a clear indication of the extent to which in the more advanced stages of the Pradyumnavijaya legend's development the freeing of the Vāgmatī has almost been made an incidental matter in the face of an increasing focus of interest upon the personal conflict between Pradumna-Kṛṣṇa-Indra on the one side and the powerful demon Mahendradamana on the other.

The observations made up to now stand in favour of the NepM version being the more developed of the two. In this regard, however, the following problem should be pointed out: In PaśP 14 Sūryaketu is said to long for Śvetakā, and in his response to him Kṛṣṇa even says that Sūryaketu is to return there (... *sūryaketos tu gantavyaṃ śvetakāpuram* VI,22cd). This picture of Sūryaketu does not fit the other characterization of him in the PaśP as a world-weary ascetic. It is possible, however, that the two PaśP passages just mentioned originally corresponded to the latter characterization[92] and were then only subsequently altered, under the influence of the

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[92] In the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh to be discussed below Nārada's situation report agrees almost word for word with that of

NepM version. NepM VIII,60c-61b, in any case, is in perfect accord with the rest of the descriptions of Sūryaketu in the NepM. Nevertheless, I do not think that on the basis of this single observation we have to reverse entirely the previously proposed textual relationship between the two cited parallel passages. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the especially graphic and vivid figure of Sūryaketu in the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM subsequently found its way alone into the PaśP version.

Kṛṣṇa's response to Nārada's situation report takes very divergent forms in the two texts. Whereas in PaśP VI,22-28 Kṛṣṇa takes up Nārada's report point by point and gives a kind of preview of coming events, Kṛṣṇa's response in the NepM (VIII,66-67b) has taken on an entirely new function, that of introducing the following Mahendradamana-Indra episode (section G): Kṛṣṇa does not wish to subject his son to any danger and would prefer instead to join battle himself with Mahendradamana. Thereupon, in the following section, Nārada explains why only Pradyumna can kill Mahendradamana.

G and K:

Section G in the NepM (VIII,67c - IX,23) corresponds thematically to section K in the PaśP (XI,6-71). Both treat an episode from the youth of the Daitya king, namely his victory over Indra. Both texts display in part passages suggestive of one another in their wording, including some that are in fact identical.[93] It has been previously stated with regard to the PaśP that this episode was likely to have been only subsequently introduced into the Pradyumnavijaya chapter. One of the main arguments was the use of

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the PaśP (cf. below p. 104). But the former says that Sūryaketu yearns for heaven (*svarge gamanakāṅkṣayā*, HimKh 171,3d) instead of for Śvetakā (PaśP VI,14d); and, correspondingly, Kṛṣṇa in his answer promises Sūryaketu that he will go to heaven (HimKh 171,14) and not, as in PaśP VI,22, that he will return to Śvetakā. It is possible that in the mentioned verses the HimKh version, as a whole surely the more recent, has preserved an older reading of the PaśP text.

[93] Similarities and correspondences in wording can be registered for the following verses:

PaśP XI,11-14 - NepM VIII,71-73
XI,18-20 - VIII,76-78
XI,25-30 - VIII,82-88
XI,43 - IX,3
XI,44 - IX,12
XI,46-53 - IX,13-18

the name 'Indradamana' in place of 'Mahendradamana' in this section. In the corresponding NepM section G this discrepancy with the rest of the Pradyumnavijaya text has been removed, and the name Mahendradamana appears there a total of fourteen times. This leveling in the NepM text supports the assumption concerning the history of the text expressed above: The episode of the Daitya king's victory must have been introduced into the Pradyumnavijaya legend at first in the K position and only later, in the version of the NepM, moved forward to the G position, the name of the Daitya king being at the same time assimilated to the context. This historical assessment of the text is supported by further arguments:

- Whereas the K position of the interpolation into the Pradyumnavijaya legend has already been judged to be awkward, inasmuch as an important motive for Pradyumna's battle against Mahendradamana thereby comes into play far too late, the placement forward into section G of the NepM version appears plausible as a smoothing out of the narrative flow.
- From a purely formal point of view, the fact that there are numerous word-for-word correspondences between the two parallel passages favors the assumption that this passage belonged at first to the second part of the Pradyumnavijaya narrative and was later, together with the other sections taken over more or less verbatim, worked into the NepM version.
- The ending of section J (PaśP XI,4-5; NepM X,4-5), which in both texts is practically identical, was likely to have originally been conceived as an introduction to section K. There the allusion is made to the Daitya king's having once conquered the three worlds. In the PaśP there then follows Pradyumna's question about this particular series of events, and after that Nārada's narration of the episode of the Daitya king's defeat of Indra and final conquest of the entire three worlds. In the forward-shifted parallel, on the contrary, the conquering of the three worlds has been entirely left out,[94] so that NepM X,4-5 makes no sense there.

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[94] In particular, both the associated promise on the part of Brahmā (cf. NepM VIII,79-81 with PaśP XI,21-24) and the description of the act of conquering itself (PaśP XI,57-63) does not have a parallel in the NepM.

- In PaśP XI,39c-46b the battle between the gods and Daityas is described only relatively briefly, and in verse 44 at least the impression is created that it was the asura Śaṅkha, mentioned in the preceding verse, and not the Daitya king himself who had put Indra to flight.[95] This, in any case, is what the redactor responsible for the parallel version in the NepM evidently took the Paśp text to mean. As noted in ftn. 93, corresponding to the two PaśP verses XI,43 and 44 are the NepM verses IX,3 and 12, with the intervening verses 4-11 clearly recognizable as an interpolation: First, the description of the turmoil of battle is enlarged upon, and the impression of its ferocity thereby heightened. But more important is the fact that here indeed a battle between Śaṅkha and Indra is clearly being described (IX,7c-10b). Śaṅkha, however, is hard beset. Mahendradamana therefore intervenes, putting Indra to flight (IX,10c-12).

H:

The two text passages, which again show no word-for-word correspondences, agree in their account of the following: Nārada takes Pradyumna to meet Prabhāvatī and urges upon both a Gāndharva marriage (PaśP VII,1-8b; NepM IX, 38-44b). Nārada thereupon absents himself for the night, and Pradyumna spends its remaining hours with Prabhāvatī. In the NepM the description of the marriage ceremony, in IX,63c-66, flows directly into that of the ensuing night of love-making (IX,67ff.; cf. section J): Pradyumna takes Prabhāvatī in his lap (67)[96] and makes a poetic declaration of his love for her (68-72), and after that they enjoy the night together (73). A parallel to NepM IX,67-73, for all purposes verbatim, turns up in the PaśP only after the interpolated section I, in the description of a second night of love-making (PaśP X,34-4o). In section H, therefore, a further description has obviously been additionally composed for the first night of love-making in PaśP VII,11-18, exactly in accordance with the paradigm just mentioned: Here too Pradyumna first takes Prabhāvatī in his lap (11), declares to her in poetic language his love (12-17), and then begins a night of love-making at her side (18).

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[95] The verses PaśP XI,43-44 read:

43 *nanādātiśayaṃ śaṅkhaḥ svareṇa samarāntare /*
tato vegād viniṣpatya rathena rathamūrdhani //
44 *keśaṃ jagrāha śakrasya so 'suraḥ krodhamūrchitaḥ*
tatas tasya bhayāt trasto muktakeśo 'marādhipaḥ //

It is perhaps not completely outside the realm of possibility that *so 'suraḥ* in 44b refers to Mahendradamana, but one is sooner inclined to take Śaṅkha from v. 43 also as the subject of v. 44.

[96] Uebach, overlooking the causative in this verse, has translated: "Als Pradyumna ... die Mitte des Schoßes erklommen hatte, sprach er ..."!

On the other hand, section H of the NepM has itself two text passages that have, one may presume, been inserted subsequently: In NepM IX,24c-37 Prabhāvatī's longing for Pradyumna is depicted in detail, and in NepM IX,44c-61 Nārada quiets Prabhāvatī's doubts as to whether the youthful Pradyumna can defeat the experienced Daitya king, and whether she should be associating with her brother's enemy.

I:

Whereas in the NepM a night of love-making between Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī (section J) follows directly upon the Gāndharva ceremony of section H, in the PaśP section I has been inserted, so that the night of love-making described in section J, identical to the text in the NepM, no longer coincides with the marriage night of section H. The arguments in favor of section I's being a subsequent interpolation into the PaśP text have been listed above (pp. 4o ff.). One may assume that what served as the basis for the editing of the NepM sections H and J was a source which did not yet contain the interpolation I of the extant PaśP version.

J:

As stated above, with section J begins the second part of the two parallel versions, which is distinguished from the first part by the fact that from this point on the two texts contain long stretches of identical passages which, with the exception of section K, are interrupted only by repeated and rather lengthy additions to the text within the NepM version. The first part of section J (PaśP X,34-41 and NepM IX,67-74) must originally have been the description of Pradyumna's and Prabhāvatī's marriage night, as in fact is the case in the NepM, where there is no interpolated section I. The second part of section J (PaśP XI,1-5 and NepM X,1-5) was, on the other hand, most likely conceived as an introduction to section K, which only in the PaśP still stands at this point in the text. In the PaśP the passage makes sense, fitting in thematically to section K, whereas in the NepM, where section K has been shifted forward and altered in content, it presents problems, as has already been pointed out in the discussion of sections G and K.

L:

In the discussion of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP reference was frequently made to section L, which coincides in the PaśP and NepM practically word for word. What was said previously concerning section L of the PaśP ought, then, also to apply largely to the parallel passage in the NepM. In both texts we find the same three motives for Pradyumna's assault: He rushes first against the dam obviously in order to free the Vāgvatī; but he is then said to want to kill Mahendradamana at the wish or upon the instructions of Indra; and, finally, he asserts he wants to kill Mahendradamana in order to be able to marry Candrāvatī without hindrance. That these different motives for his assault represent three different stages of development in the textual history of the Pradyumnavijaya legend has already been shown above. Here we need only once more emphasize the fact that these stages of development must antedate the common source of the two parallel versions. That neither the NepM version can be based on the surviving PaśP text nor, conversely, the PaśP version on the NepM text, but instead that both texts derive from a common source whose text has undergone small redactional changes in each independently of the other may be made plausible by the following observations:

- Stylistic improvements appear to have been made in the NepM text when compared with the PaśP version: Whereas in the PaśP the phrase *abravīd īdṛśaṃ vākyam* is used over and over (PaśP XII,4, 13; XIII, 7, 9, 12, 16, 31; XIV,1), in the corresponding verses in the NepM (NepM X,9, 18, 31, 36, 4o, 55, 61) various turns of phrases have been selected to suit the respective context.
- Conversely, the attempt appears to have been made in a number of places in the PaśP to heighten the effect of the text by making additions to certain lists which occur in the NepM in a simpler form: In PaśP XIII,21c-22b and 24 (cf. NepM X,45 and 47) additional weapons are named in a battle scene; in PaśP XIV,2-4 the number of Viṣṇu's names given has been noticeably increased in comparison to NepM X,62-64; and, finally, as the PaśP editions demonstrate, in PaśP XIV,5-8 there were added relatively late three avatars of Viṣṇu

(Matsya, Nṛsiṃha and Vāmana) to the four originally named (Kūrma, Varāha, Rāma and Paraśurāma), only the latter, in agreement with NepM X,65-66, being listed in any of the PaśP manuscripts I have checked.[97]

In section N the two texts again largely agree word for word. Nevertheless, in the NepM the passage XI,13b-14a, which is not in the PaśP, appears to be an addition: In this passage Nārada's advice, given just previously (NepM XI,11-12 and PaśP XIV,17c-19b), to drive Virādha out of the water with the help of Garuḍa, is shown being carried out.[98] Conversely, the PaśP passage also contains an interpolation, referring in XIV,21c-23 to a situation described in section I: In PaśP VII,22-28 Pradyumna had delivered Candrāvatī over to the safekeeping of the Vāgvatī; now the Vāgvatī gives up her charge.

O_2:

The first part of section O (O_1) has already been discussed above in connection with sections B and U. Section O_1 emphatically depicts Sūryaketu as a Viṣṇubhakta and otherwise betrays decidedly Vaiṣṇava origins. With the following section O_2 (NepM XI,41-62b), an equally conspicuous Śaiva text passage has been set beside it: In it Kṛṣṇa calls upon Paśupati and pays his respects. When the munis of the surrounding vicinity hear of this, they come in haste with the muni Nemi at their head. The latter assumes a typically Śaiva attitude[99] when, in strong terms, he declares the unity of Viṣṇu and Śiva:

52 *yo hariṃ hararūpeṇa haraṃ ca harirūpiṇam /*
yaḥ paśyati sa eva syād vaiṣṇavaḥ śaiva eva //
53 *harau hare ca ye bhedaṃ kurvanti manujādhamāḥ /*
pākhaṇḍino vedavāhyās te vai nirayagāminaḥ //

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[97] The lines of verse taken up into the PaśP editions (Kathmandu 1954 and 1972) as XIV,5cd and 7 are missing in both Sanskrit MSS. (NGMPP Nos. A 264/10 and 11), and what would correspond to them in content is also missing in the Newari translation (NGMPP No. A 264/5).

[98] In NepM XI,14b all text editions read *taruṇādityavarcasam*, making this attribute refer to *kacchapam*. Uebach, however, notes in her critical apparatus (NepM edition, p. 211) that the two MSS. at her disposal read *-varcasā*, and this reading is confirmed in PaśP XIV,19; it must then be taken to refer to *cakreṇa*, and certainly deserves to be given preference.

[99] Cf. Hacker 1959, p. 184: "Diese Einheit der beiden Götter (Viṣṇu und Śiva), von der die śivaitischen Purāṇas nicht aufhören zu reden, ..."

In verse 53 Vaiṣṇava exclusivism (*ekāntavāda*) is clearly attacked.[100] Highly satisfied with Nemi's words, Paśupati immediately (XI, 60-62b) entrusts the surrounding territory to his protection, the whole amounting to a folk etymology of the name 'Ne-pāla' (cf. above ftn. 89).

P:

In section P the two texts again agree to a very large extent. To illustrate this, and to facilitate the discussion of the historical relation of individual parallel passages to one another, a verse concordance has been drawn up beginning at the end of section N and continuing up to the beginning of the description of the tīrthas:

	PaśP XIV	NepM XI
N	20c-21b	15
	21c-23	
	24-25b	16-17b
O		17c-62b
P		62c-65
	25c-28b	(see 70-72)
	28c-29b	
	29c-32b	66-68b
	32c-33b	
	33c-34	68c-69
	35	
	(see 25c-28b)	70-72
	36	

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[100] I would like to point out that Prof. B. Kölver (Kiel University) has brought against my interpretation of the NepM fragment O_2, in its assumption of an underlying polarization between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, the argument that it could well be a case of the 'unitaristic' worship of Harihara, which is documented iconographically and epigraphically in Nepal as early as the fifth century A.D. (cf. Licchavikāla-kā abhilekha, ed. by Dh. Vajrācārya 1973/74, pp. 198-203). Kölver's interpretation would mean, of course, the existence of an additional redactor, an assumption which cannot in fact be ruled out. But since the teaching of the identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu is often found espoused specifically in the theology of the Śaiva Paurāṇikas (cf. ftn. 99), I suspect that also in the present case this teaching entered the text as a part of the Śaiva revision.

37-40	73-76
	77
41-42	78-79
43	
44-46	80-82
47ab	
47c-50	83-86b

A discussion of the individual discrepancies follows:

- As already mentioned, PaśP XIV,21c-23 makes reference to the contents of section I, and the thematic continuation of PaśP XIV,21c-23 in turn is the passage 32c-33b. Furthermore, PaśP XIV,37a also alludes to section I. None of the three passages has a parallel in the NepM, and they are best deemed to be subsequent changes in the PaśP text.
- According to NepM XI,64c-65 the Yādavas went to Sūryaketu on top of Mṛgendraśikhara in order to see the marriage between Pradyumna and Candrāvatī performed. The stage for this passage has already been set in the first part of section O (NepM XI,38c-39). In the PaśP, on the contrary, if one leaves aside XIV,21c-23 as a late addition, then Sūryaketu and Candrāvatī, as above in section F, are seen once more to turn up too abruptly. Again, the change of the scene of action from the place where the fighting between the Yādavas and Daityas has taken place to Mṛgendraśikhara, where the marriage presumably occurs and, in any case, the ensuing tīrtha journey begins, goes in the PaśP without notice. Whereas in NepM XI,66-67b Sūryaketu gives his daughter to Pradyumna (*kanyādāna*), in the PaśP parallel, XIV 29c-31b, it is Kṛṣṇa who performs the marriage. Indeed, Sūryaketu is mentioned in the PaśP in only one place, which may very well have been taken over subsequently from the NepM version. The reference is to the three verses PaśP XIV,25c-28b (NepM XI,70-72), which originally appear to have been conceived for the NepM text, whence possibly they were taken up into the PaśP, shifted forward in the text and supplemented by verses 28c-29b. In the three verses in common Kṛṣṇa and Sūryaketu are said to be pleased with daughter-in-law (*vadhū*) and son-in-law (*jāmātṛ*),[101] and in PaśP XIV,28c-29b it is added that Nārada too is delighted at the marriage.

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[101] In her translation of NepM XI,70 and 72 Uebach has misunderstood *vadhū* and *jāmātṛ*.

- With PaśP XIV,36 and NepM XI,73 preparations for the departure commence. Kṛṣṇa mounts up on Garuḍa, and Pradyumna has Candrāvatī and Prabhāvatī get into his chariot before he himself mounts it. In NepM XI,77, finally, Sūryaketu joins them, which is missing in the PaśP text. Instead, the announcement is made by Kṛṣṇa at the beginning of the description of the tīrthas (in XIV,43) that after Candrāvatī's marriage Sūryaketu went to heaven.

Q:

Section Q is an addition to Kṛṣṇa's description of the tīrthas, which stretches in its entirety from sections P through R. That section Q does indeed represent a case of subsequent insertion is especially evident from the fact that at the end of section P in PaśP XIV,5o and NepM XI,85 a place named *sarvauṣadhi* is mentioned, to which reference is again explicitly made at the beginning of section R in PaśP XIV,51 and NepM XI,1o8. Whereas Kṛṣṇa, in his description of the tīrthas in PaśP, mentions predominantly places where he himself has sojourned, that is, Vaiṣṇava tīrthas in the Nepal Valley, the interpolated NepM passage XI,86c-1o8b is clearly Śaiva in tone: The subject there is various locales and rivers revered especially by Śaivas, and a series of Śivaliṅgas are listed. Moreover, the origin of the Vāgmatī from Śiva's mouth is once again adverted to (NepM XI, 98d).

T - V:

The contents of sections T and V, which report, again in part identically, the return of the Yādavas to Dvārakā, is interrupted in the NepM by section U. This section has already been seen to be closely related to sections B and O_1. From the point of view of contents, the insertion into the NepM is not entirely successful. On the one hand, at the end of section T there is the description of how the inhabitants of Dvārakā are already standing ready with burning lamps outside the city to receive the heroes. On the other, in section U there follows thereupon a detailed account of how Kṛṣṇa first leads Sūryaketu back to Śvetakā, forces out his rival Haṃsadhvaja, is honored by both kings and, finally, receives an invitation from Sūryaketu to rest up there overnight and start out for Dvārakā fresh the next morning (XII,42). It is not stated, however, whether Kṛṣṇa accepts this invitation. In verses XII,47-49 the Yādavas receive generous gifts from Sūryaketu, and in XII,5o-51 (corresponding to PaśP XIV,73-74), without any transition, they are greeted by the inhabitants of Dvārakā.

So much for the discussion of the individual sections of the two versions of the Pradyumnavijaya. In a summary of results a review will now be given of the historical development of the text responsible for the form the chapter of the NepM has come down to us in.

Three different stages of development may be clearly distinguished one from another:

1. Forming the basis is a version of the text which in wording and content must have been similar to the extant version of the PaśP, and may have been identical to one of the previously mentioned stages of development of the PaśP text.
2. This version of the text, particularly the second part of the narrative, was taken over largely unaltered, whereas the first part underwent extensive revision, clearly in close connection with a framing episode worked into the whole at a number of places and having a decidedly Vaiṣṇava tone.
3. This extended version of the text was in the end provided with a number of additions, this time clearly Śaiva in character.

These stages of development will now be the object of a more detailed discussion.

1.

The extant version of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM goes back to a textual forerunner which appears also to form the basis of our PaśP version. This common prototype likely corresponded to something similar to the PaśP's third stage of textual development described previously. Concerning this state of the text, it was stated above that, apart from the core of the Pradyumnavijaya narrative, it already contained as additions the Indradamana-Indra episode as well as the references to Candrāvatī. But it certainly still lacked the lengthy insertion PaśP VII,19 – X,33.

In the first part of the text the following passages, in the forms that have come down to us or in ones similar to them, may be postulated as the common prototype:

- Section C, to the extent that the two versions coincide in content, without, in other words, the extensions beyond the NepM version found in the PaśP text,

- sections E and F, in versions at least very close to the extant PaśP text,
- and from section H a version that corresponded in content to the parallel passage PaśP VII,1-8b = NepM IX,38-44 and IX,63c-66.

In the second part a common forerunner may be postulated having a textual form which corresponded to the largely identical passages in sections J, L, N, P, R, T and V, and which must have contained, at least in some similar form, section K. This means that the common forerunner to the second part of the Pradyumnavijaya legend is likely to have been quite similar to our PaśP version, though by no means identical throughout.

2.

This common forerunner contained certain awkward passages and even discrepancies, which are to be attributed in part to previous redactional manipulations. In the previous discussion of the PaśP version special mention was made of examples from the interpolations of the Indradamana-Indra episode and the figure of Candrāvatī. Such conspicuous burdens upon the content appear to have led, in the text tradition from which the extant NepM version finally arose, to extensive redactional changes, especially in the first part of the text. The following form of the text may be reconstructed as a later forerunner of the NepM version to have come down to us:

- Sections J, L, N, P, R, T and V were taken from the preceding stage of development by and large in the form in which they there occurred.
- Section K was moved up to the first part of the legend into position G, with the text being in some places retained and in other places linguistically reformed. The content, too, was at times altered.
- In the first part sections C, E, F and H were adopted from the preceding stage of the text, aquiring practically throughout a new linguitic form, and at times a new content.
- Moreover, the following lengthy additions to the text were made: In section D a detailed episode concerning Candrāvatī and her father Sūryaketu was introduced into the text. In conformity with this episode, furthermore, the figure of Sūryaketu was fundamentally altered as compared with the PaśP, and an independent Sūryaketu episode was added in sections B, O_1 and U as a kind of framing narrative to the whole Pradyumnavijaya chapter. This Sūryaketu episode displays as a whole clear Vaiṣṇava traits.

3.

The form of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter as handed down to us in the Śaiva NepM was once again extended by a series of - this time - Śaiva inspired additions to the text. These are, in particular, sections A, M, O_2, Q and S, all of which are easily removed from their context and therefore clearly recognizable as interpolations. These Śaiva sections were evidently provoked in their entirety by the Vaiṣṇava inspired parts of the older text version:

- The Vaiṣṇava framing episode centering on the figure of Sūryaketu has been supplemented by a second frame in sections A, M and S, all of which recount the erecting of Śivaliṅgas by Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna. In section A mention of the two liṅgas has been made in order to provide an occasion for recounting a version of the Pradyumnavijaya in which later, in section M, the erecting of these liṅgas takes place. And section S has Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna once again, at the end of their visit to Nepal, each setting up a Śivaliṅga.
- Section O_2, in which Kṛṣṇa pays his respects to Paśupati and Viṣṇu and Śiva are declared to be identical, has been attached directly to O_1, in which Sūryaketu's bhakti for Viṣṇu is portrayed at length.
- Section Q introduces a series of Śaiva places of pilgrimage into a description of tīrthas by Kṛṣṇa, who originally mentioned only his own, that is Vaiṣṇava, places of sojourn in the Nepal Valley.

One may assume that the incorporation of the Pradyumnavijaya legend into the NepM went hand in hand with the above-mentioned enlargements to the text by a series of clearly Śaiva additions, inasmuch as the next to last stage of the text, which betrays distinctly Vaiṣṇava concerns, would hardly have developed within a Paurāṇic work which was to the same degree distinctly Śaiva.

Aspects of religious history

During the discussion of the PaśP text the following stages of development were identified with reference to the significance within religious history of the Pradyumnavijaya legend:

- The core of the narrative was a hero legend within the mythology surrounding Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. Religious ends are not particularly stressed, although the Viṣṇustotra as well as the Vaiṣṇava description of the Tīrthas, among other things, leaves no doubt as to the Vaiṣṇava character of the story.

- Next, the various additions to the text in the PaśP, namely the Indradamana-Indra episode, the entire Candrāvatī episode as well as the events surrounding Mahendradamana's theft of the jewel, appear to have been brought in merely to fill out and exemplify the narrative. They do not, in any case, betray any particular religious or sectarian motives.
- the first products of a Śaiva based editing are present in two places, namely in the text passage dealing with the myth of the Vāgvatī's origins and at the beginning of Kṛṣṇa's description of the tīrthas.

The NepM version, in contrast, manifests two stages of development, the first of which is seen to be motivated in part for reasons of content and in part for reasons of sect, whereas the second and final stage betrays exlusively sectarian aims:

- In the first of the two stages of development of the NepM version the flow of the narrative was, in the first place, improved upon markedly in comparison with the prototype common to the PaśP, in that, for example, the Candrāvatī-Sūryaketu episode, which previously had been merely alluded to, was now decked out in all detail; secondly, a framing narrative centering on King Sūryaketu and showing decidedly Vaiṣṇaba features was added.
- This Vaiṣṇava version, finally, was provided in the last stage of development once again with a whole series of additions, which this time, however, hardly concern the narrative stock, serving instead obviously one purpose: making the legend Śaiva.

The last two stages of development clearly show that the Pradyumnavijaya legend had become the object of an escalating religious conflict. The adding of Vaiṣṇava features to a myth originally Vaiṣṇava in character was probably already a reaction to the first attempts by the Śaivas to draw the Vaiṣṇava Vāgmatī mythology over to the side of Śaivism. The fact alone that the two Śaiva Paurāṇic works PaśP and NepM each devote a large part of the text to this myth, not to mention the changes and additions having a

Śaiva motivation, points to a lively interest on the part of the Śaivas in this myth. And as the myth, though indeed Vaiṣṇava in origin, was not all that bluntly Vaiṣṇava in character, the Śaivas were at first able to take it over for all practical purposes unaltered, as occurred in the PaśP. This seems, however, to have aroused the Vaiṣṇavas to action: They proceeded to add to the text of their old myth in such a way that the Vaiṣṇava elements stood out more clearly and unmistakably. This may in turn have provoked the Śaivas to alter the myth in earnest and to adapt it to their own mythology by providing the text with a whole series of additions sectarian in nature. It is thereby interesting to observe that the Śaivas did not annul the effects produced by the Vaiṣṇavas. They did not, for example, eliminate the Sūryaketu framing episode (which would perhaps have been felt to be an affront to Viṣṇu himself and so was avoided). As a matter of fact, they took up the decidedly Vaiṣṇava version into their own work in an unaltered state, although, to be sure, they embedded it in and subordinated it to a Śaiva theology (liṅga worship, identity of Viṣṇu and Śiva). The state of mind underlying this particular strategy is explicitly manifested in the central Śaiva passage of the NepM, 0_2: Viṣṇu and Śiva are one, which in the first place doubtlessly means that the worship of Viṣṇu, too, is conceded its place in religious practice; at the same time, however, sharp criticism is leveled against those who reject the doctrine of the identity of Viṣṇu and Śiva, particularly, that is, against the proponents of Vaiṣṇava exclusivism.

In order to place the results of the above investigation on the significance for religious history of the two Pradyumnavijaya versions dealt with so far into the context of the general historical development of Hinduism in Nepal and to reassess them in this new light, two matters must first be addressed. First, a brief overview, at least, must be given of the state of present research into the history of Nepalese religions, with particular consideration being given to Hinduism, and, following that, the question must be taken up as to what dates to assign the texts at hand.

Briefly, in works dealing with the religious history of Nepal the following development of Nepalese Hinduism is given:

- Around the middle of the first millenium A.D., that is, in the Licchavi period, there was flourishing in Nepal, on the one hand, Buddhism, and on the other, among the Hindus, both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism alongside one another. Whereas at the beginning of our century Sylvain Lévi was still sure, on the basis of the research up to that time, that the Vaiṣṇavism of Nepal had never been able to attain to the significance that Śaivism did,[1o2] since then our knowledge of the older periods of Nepalese history has been considerably broadened by numerous recently discovered historical material, with the consequence that it has been suggested in various quarters that the Vaiṣṇavism of the Licchavi epoch may even have enjoyed a preeminence over Śaivism.[1o3] According to Pratapaditya Pal the creative phase of Vaiṣṇava artistic activity continued roughly up to the end of the first millenium.[1o4]

- The authors cited for their views on the religious history of Nepal all agree that particularly since the beginning of the second millenium,[1o5] though probably even from as early as the seventh century under King Aṃśuvarman,[1o6] Śaivism continually increased its influence. From the beginning of this development onwards the incontestable center of Nepalese Śaivism appears to have been the main temple of the Pāśupatas, lying on the bank of the Vāgmatī and devoted to Śiva in the form of Paśupati.

- It should be mentioned in passing that Nepalese Buddhism, concomitantly with the rise of Śaivism, more and more forfeited its former autonomy and significance in Nepal.[1o7]

1o2. Lévi 19o5-o8, vol. 1, p. 366: "Viṣṇu, le concurrent et l'égal de Śiva dans la mythologie classique de l'inde, n'a pas réussi à prendre une personalité aussi vigoureuse et aussi saillante au Népal."

1o3. P. Pal 1974, p. 11: "At any rate, the Licchavi period was particularly propitious for Viṣṇuism"; Slusser 1982, vol. 1, p. 239: "Licchavi inscriptions, temple sites, and stone sculptures attest that the importance of Viṣṇu equalled - perhaps even surpassed - Śiva in ancient Nepal." More reserved and neutral, on the other hand, are J. C. Regmi 1973, p. 136, and van Kooij 1978, p. 2.

1o4. Pal 197o, p. 1o; Pal 1974, p. 81.

1o5. Pal 197o, p. 1o; van Kooij 1978, p. 2.

1o6. Slusser 1982, vol. 1, pp. 24o and esp. 228; Unbescheid 198o, pp. 17o-172.

1o7. Slusser 1982, vol. 1, p. 221.

- In the course of the first half of the second millenium A.D. Vaiṣṇavism, particularly in the form given over to the worship of Kṛṣṇa, went through a period of strong upsurge in Bihar and Bengal,[108] with effects also upon Nepal. Mithilā (Bihar) and Nepal under the Malla dynasty developed, particularly from the fourteenth century onwards, increasingly close relations,[109] which led to a revival of Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal too, its climax being reached in the late Malla period from the sixteenth for eighteenth centuries.[110]
- In spite of the Vaiṣṇava movement just mentioned, from which, however, little has been heard of since the downfall of the Malla rulers in Nepal and rise of the Śāha dynasty, modern Nepalese society sees itself in general as being divided into only two groups: the Buddhists (*bauddhamārgin*) and Śaivas (*śivamārgin*).[111]

So much, then, for an overview of the history of Hinduism in Nepal. In order to correlate with this the results of the above investigation an attempt must now first be made to narrow down the dates of the works in question, the PaśP and the NepM.

Quite varied opinions have been expressed in the past concerning the dating of the two Paurāṇic works:

- S. Lévi took even an approximate dating of the two works to be out of the question: "Le Nepāla-Māhātmya, comme la plupart de ses congénères, échappe à toute chronologie; l'ouvrage est si complètement impersonnel qu'il semble flotter en dehors du temps. Ni nom, ni date, ni indice qui permette même la plu vague approximation";[112] and as for the PaśP: "Le Vāgvatī-Māhātmya n'est pas mieux daté que le Nepāla-Māhātmya; cependant, comparé à celui-ci, il donne l'impression d'une composition plus récente."[113]

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[108] Cf. Mazumdar 1962; Sarkar 1972, vol. 2, pp. 220ff.

[109] Slusser 1982, vol. 1, pp. 65-68.

[110] Pal 1980, pp. 87f.; Slusser 1982, vol. 1, pp. 67 and 248.

[111] Lévi 1905-08, vol. 1, p. 238; Petech 1958, p. 185.

[112] Lévi 1905-08, vol. 1, pp. 204f.

[113] Lévi 1905-08, vol. 1, p. 207.

- H. Uebach brings forward in her edition of the NepM a number of indications for an early dating of that work:[114] above all, she relies on the dating of a NepM manuscript by L. Petech back to the thirteenth century; but this dating, as will be shown, cannot be upheld. However, Uebach offers two other arguments worth considering: She describes the Sūryaketu episode as follows: "Diese Schilderung ist im Nep. Māh. so lebhaft und anschaulich, daß man sich dem Eindruck, daß hier eine historische Begebenheit noch in Erinnerung ist und ihren Niederschlag fand, kaum entziehen kann" (p. 14); and as the underlying historical correlate she postulates the invasion from Mithilā by Nānyadeva and his successors. Finally, Uebach points justifiably to the striking silence surrounding the numerous temples built during the period of the three Malla kingdoms (1480-1768), which likewise suggests that the works were composed before the fifteenth century.

- In the most recent past the opinion has been variously offered, without, however, detailed reasons being given in its support, that the two works PaśP and NepM came into being sometime between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mary S. Slusser writes: "The Nepālamāhātmya ... was incorporated into the well-known Skandapurāṇa at an unknown date, but most likely around the fifteenth century";[115] Prayag Raj Sharma calls the NepM and PaśP "works of local composition in Sanskrit of the 14th-15th century A.D.";[116] and Kamal Prakash Malla writes with reference to Nepalese Paurāṇic literature: "The traditions which this literature draws upon may be older than the texts. But they are clearly an outgrowth of the 15-16th century religious nationalism in the Valley."[117]

As far as I can see, we have basically three criteria at our disposal for dating works of 'anonymous' literature: the language they employ, clues provided by the contents and the age of datable manuscripts.

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[114] Das Nepālamāhātmyaṃ des Skandapurāṇaṃ 1970, pp. 13-15.

[115] Slusser 1982, vol. 1, p. 226.

[116] Sharma 1982/83, p. 6.

[117] Malla 1982/83, p. 61.

To judge by the manuscripts, the compilation of the PaśP had by and large been completed by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the oldest dated manuscript of the work providing the terminus ad quem N.S. 624 śrāvaṇa (= July/August 1504).[118]

In the case of the NepM, the colophon of the oldest dated manuscript[119] must be examined in detail, since this colophon was misinterpreted by Petech and Uebach, who dated the manuscript to around the middle of the thirteenth century.[120] The decisive verse, which Uebach reproduces faultily, reads according to the manuscript exactly as follows:

> *śākābde sindhuvājīdharaṇi(ca)dharayute kārttike kṛṣṇapakṣe*
> *pañcamyāṃ sādhyajoge ruruśira ca ravau saṃcitaṃ dharmaheto /*
> *vyākhyārthaṃ devidāsadvijakulasumaṇeḥ pūjya pūjāṃ prayatnāl*
> *lekho 'yaṃ parśurāmo hariharakathāṃ pustakaṃ santayogyam //*

Not everything in this verse in its present from is clear to me, either as regards grammar or content, but the decisive first pāda, containing the date, is rendered comprehensible by means of a metrically and grammatically necessary conjecture. The entire verse is composed in the *sragdharā* meter, and contains in the middle of the first pāda one short syllable too many;[121] *ca*, unsuitable by reason both of grammar and content, should therefore be deleted, and *-dharaṇidhara* read as a compound. There thereby results the three-place number of the year 774, which can only stand for a year in the system of reckoning according to the Nepal Saṃvat.[122] The month of Kārtika in N.S. 774 corresponds to October/November 1653 A.D. This date is the terminus ad quem for the NepM.[122a]

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[118] This date does not mean that the text could not have undergone further development in individual passages; as an example, one may point to the relatively late addition of the listing of Viṣṇu's avatars in PaśP XIV,5-8 (cf. above p. 67 f.)

[119] Filmed by the NGMPP under No. A 332/13.

[120] Das Nepālamāhātmyaṃ des Skandapurāṇaṃ 1970, pp. 13f.

[121] In the middle of the fourth pāda, by the way, a short syllable is missing.

[122] *śāka-* in the cited verse is thus to be taken as meaning "a general name for any era" (Monier-Williams 1974, s.v. śāka).

[122a] In my article "References to Buddhism in the Nepālamāhātmya" (1980), p. 274, I follow Petech in his dating of the oldest dated Nepālamāhātmya Ms., which herewith must now be taken as being obsolete.

Clues for a dating of the PaśP and NepM on the basis of the language of the text do not enter the picture, as the Sanskrit of these Paurāṇic writings is by and large the same slovenly type characteristic of that entire branch of literature, being written in verses devoid of artistic pretensions in which frequently, for reasons of meter, liberties are taken with grammatical rules.

As a result, only considerations of content remain as a basis for dating. But here one must from the very outset reckon with the fact that Paurāṇic works have acquired their final text form only as a result of a process of growth which may under circumstances have been quite long. In anonymous literature the study of individual passages is to be accorded priority over the treatment of entire texts, as the latter are secondary by their very nature.[123] This postulate is given its due in the present study, in that it is not entire works but rather individual, thematically cohesive chapters which are investigated, within which in turn shorter individual passages are isolated and treated as textual units. Again, this same postulate must be kept in mind when attempting to determine the date of a text's composition. One must not, in other words, apply datings obtained for passages from other chapters of the text to the Pradyumnavijaya chapter, nor dates ascertained for individual passages within the Pradyumnavijaya chapter to the chapter as a whole. This means that for the Pradyumnavijaya chapter itself, not to mention the Paurāṇic works in their entirety, we will not end up with a uniform date of composition. For the unified works we therefore have to make do with the terminus ad quem provided by the respective dated manuscripts.

As for the subject of discussion at hand, the Pradyumnavijaya chapter, only non-binding conjectures can be made concerning the dates of the older stages of development underlying in common the extant versions of the PaśP and NepM. To be sure, the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP as well as the corresponding passages in the NepM contain many references to the actual topography of the Nepal Valley, but no mention is made whatsoever of historically identifiable events. One foothold, though surely unstable, is offered by the general history of Hinduism's growth in Nepal. It was stated above that the older stages of the Pradyumnavijaya legend's development were limited to a hero myth exhibiting already clear marks of Vaiṣṇavism, but which was not yet by any means out-and-out sectarian. That the legend in this form achieved a certain currency was inferred above from the fact that it found entrance into the Śaiva PaśP in a largely unaltered form. This is by no means a matter of course: At bottom, the legend was contrary to the interests of the Śaivas, inasmuch as they, with their principal shrine on the bank of the Vāgvatī, would naturally have given thought to a Vāgvatī mythology of their own. The conception, spread and wide acceptance of the Vaiṣṇava Vāgvatī myth are perhaps easiest to explain during a period when Vaiṣṇavism was still flourishing in the Nepal Valley as a creative force. With all necessary reserve, then, let us assume that the core of the text, and possibly also the legend's older stages of development, go back in time to before 1ooo A.D.[124] At the turn of the millenium the creativity and influence of Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal were ebbing, while the Śaivas, in the meantime, had firmed up their position to such an extent that they could venture to turn the Vāgvatī myth, previously taken over simply as it was, to their own purposes, that is, to make it Śaiva.

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[123] Cf. Hacker 1961, p. 486.

From the evidence of the NepM text, the Vaiṣṇavas appear to have offered effective resistance only after Vaiṣṇavism in Nepal had received revivalistic impulses from Northeast India. There are clear signs, in any case, from the next to last stage of development of the NepM version pointing, in my opinion, in this direction. These will now be discussed in greater detail.

The next to last stage of development of the NepM Pradyumnavijaya chapter enlarged the text to include a decidedly Vaiṣṇava framing narrative closely tied to the figure of King Sūryaketu. In comparison with the older characterization of Sūryaketu in the PaśP, the NepM version introduced the follwoing changes: King Sūryaketu is represented as a political refugee who was driven out of Śvetakā by the Mithilā king Haṃsadhvaja and, together with his family, forced to flee to Nepal. As noted above, Uebach was struck by the vivid description in the NepM of the events surrounding King

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[124] A possible additional argument for this dating will be given below (cf. p. 95f.) while discussing the Pradyumnottara chapter of the *Harivaṃśa*.

Sūryaketu, and she saw in this, in my opinion rightly so, the reflex of a historical event. However, she then let herself be misled, evidently under the influence of the faulty dating of the oldest NepM manuscript, into supposing that the underlying historical reality was the invasions of Nepal by Nānyadeva and his successors, though they in fact scarcely have anything in common with the refugees Sūryaketu. There is recorded, however, in Nepalese documents from the Malla period[125] the flight into Nepal of another Mithilā king named Harisiṃha (also called Harasiṃha) in the year 1324/25 A.D., and later on, to judge by the vaṃśāvalīs of the last century, he was even played up as an important figure in the legendary history of Nepal.[126] Harisiṃha was driven out of his capital, Simraon, by a Muslim army advancing through Mithilā from Bengal, and he fled with his family to Nepal. The king died during the flight, but his family made it to the Nepal Valley and even managed to acquire considerable political influence. I for one have no doubts that the historical flight of King Harisiṃha was worked up into the Sūryaketu episode of the NepM. It naturally had at the same time to be given mythological trimmings, since the historical event as such did not coincide with the old Pradyumnavijaya legend. Therefore, the name Sūryaketu was appropriated from the PaśP, Simraon changed to Śvetaká and Sūryaketu's subduer renamed Haṃsadhvaja; further, the erecting of the Jalaśayana Nārāyaṇa sculpture, historically documented for the seventh century, was attributed to the Viṣṇubhakta Sūryaketu, and, finally, the restoring of Sūryaketu to his throne was invented as a poetic fiction. The flight of the Vaiṣṇava Sūryaketu in the NepM appears to me to reflect the historical influence which Mithilā, as a center of Vaiṣṇavism, exerted in helping revive that sect in Nepal. Whether Harisiṃha himself and his family were Vaiṣṇavas, or perhaps only the paṇḍits etc. who fled with them from Mithilā, cannot be determined with certainty.[127] Yet according to the testimony of relatively late Nepalese texts Harisiṃha introduced the goddess Talejū into Nepal[128] and thereby, so the claim, even brought Śaivism to Nepal for the first time.[129] The Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī, however, fails to confirm this attribution, and its historical roots may be sought in the fact that the cult of Talejū was possibly introduced into Nepal by brahmans from Mithilā roughly at the time of Harisiṃha.[13o]

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[125] Cf. the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, fol. 46, and the comments made by Petech 1958, pp. 111ff.; D. R. Regmi 1965, pt. 1, pp. 258-293; Slusser 1982, vol. 1, Index s.v. "Hara-, Hariṣiṃha, of Mithilā;" further, cf. the small Skt. text entitled *Turyāgamanakathā*, vv. 23-24, cited and discussed by Witzel 1976, pp. 171f.

[126] Cf. *History of Nepal*, ed. by D. Wright 1972, pp. 174ff.; and *Bhāṣāvaṃśavalī*, vol. 2, ed. by D. Lamsal 1966/67, pp. 29ff.

[127] It seems in any case possible to trace back to impulses from Mithilā the fact that not many decades later, contemporary with the Vaiṣṇava

To return, then, to the original question of dates: For the next to last stage of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter's development the following chronological ordering may be established: For the terminus a quo one may postulate some time after Harisiṃha's flight in the year 1324/25 A.D., while the terminus ad quem, in light of the fact that the Sūryaketu who longs back to Śvetakā has already found his way into the PaśP version, may be placed at 15o4 A.D., that is, the date of the oldest dated manuscript of the PaśP.

Finally, since the terminal Śaiva editing of the NepM version does not seem to have had any noticeable influence upon the PaśP version, one cannot rule out the possibility that this last stage of development of the NepM chapter occurred as late as the sixteenth or even the first half of the seventeenth century.

The results obtained concerning the textual development of the Pradyumnavijaya narrative now lie projected against the background of the general religious history of Nepal as it is known to current research, and it has been shown that by and large they fit in well with these historical developments. It is a different story, however, when we come to consider the particular question of the contact and relationship of Nepalese religions among one another, and to compare the results here with what has come out of research up to now in this regard.

Mithilā rulers, Sthitimalla gave himself the honorary title 'Nārāyaṇa' and claimed that he was Viṣṇu's incarnation; cf. Slusser 1982, vol. 1, p. 67.

[128] Cf. Witzel 1976, pp. 166ff., as well as in the two vaṃśāvalīs named in ftn. 126.

[129] Cf. Petech 1958, p. 18o.

[13o] Cf. Witzel 1976, p. 167.

It is true that up to now no comprehensive history devoted to the relationship of Nepal's religions among themselves has been written, and that, in addition, there is not the necessary preliminary work in the form of individual monographs based strictly on investigations of historical material. Nevertheless, in the literature on the subject there is no dearth of general pronouncements on the history of the relations of Nepalese religious groups to one another; the striking feature of such pronouncements is that the phenomenon of syncretistic overlapping and mixing is over and over again qualified by such value judgements as "peaceful coexistence", "mutual respect" and "religious tolerance". It is not to be denied that this terminology is in line with a very widespread picture Nepalis have of themselves nowadays, which, let it be said, does not appear to be uninfluenced by statements to the same effect propagated at the official and state level.

Various Nepalese authors, such as Dilli R. Regmi,[131] have expressed themselves in a positively zealous fashion on the subject of religious tolerance in Nepal's past, but even more sober scholars like P. Pal and, most recently, M. S. Slusser champion in point of fact similar opinions.[132] There are, however, counterexamples: Thus, for instance, a few years ago S. Lienhard treated the "Religionsynkretismus in Nepal" in a thoroughly objective manner while at the same time going beyond a simple description,[133] and K. R. van Kooij, in his monograph "Religion in Nepal", limits himself entirely to description and strictly avoids taking a position of his own or even making a value judgement.[134]

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131. D. R. Regmi 1960, p. 33: "Nowhere does a complete harmony prevail between divergent forms of worship as in the valley of Kathmandu. It is as if all sections understood the significance of this basic unity of all shades of belief. ... Buddhists and Sivamargis have been living together in perfect harmony throughout the ages."

132. Pal 1974, p. 13: "Religious tolerance may be regarded as the most remarkable phenomenon of Nepali culture." In the same vein Slusser (1982, vol. 1) stresses over and over "nonsectarianism" (passim, see Index) and "catholicity of worship and tolerance for diverse faiths, practices and deities" (p. 219) as being a special characteristic of the Nepalese both past and present.

133. Lienhard 1978, pp. 146-177.

134. van Kooij 1978.

It is no cause for wonder, and even to a certain degree justifiable, that in the treatment of the relationship of Nepal's religions to one another special attention has generally up to now been given to the mutual relation between Buddhism and Hinduism. But the fact that within Hinduism itself there have been conflicts between Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas has hardly yet become, as far as Nepal is concerned, a subject for research, whereas Indology, and in particular research into the Purāṇas, has long been intensively engaged in examining the corresponding phenomenon within the religious history of India.[135] If it was said above, in the survey of Nepal's religious history, that there were times in which Vaiṣṇavism flourished alongside Śaivism and so was influential, and other times in which Śaivism clearly attained preeminent status, then it is hardly likely in Nepal, any less than anywhere else in the world where prestige, influence and domination are involved, that these historical changes occurred without conflict. That in Nepal friction and conflict existed also between Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas can be demonstrated in surviving historical documents, as the example of the Paurāṇic texts dealt with here shows.

Sylvain Lévi, who does not as a matter of principle exclude the possibility of religious conflict in Nepal's spiritual history, still makes misinterpretations in his description and evaluation of the particular mental attitudes of the NepM and PaśP. Lévi stresses that the NepM distinguishes itself from other māhātmyas, which are usually fanatically sectarian, by the fact that it raises Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Buddha to the same plane.[136] As regards the PaśP, on the contrary, Lévi is of the opinion that there a different religious spirit prevails, Śiva having been raised above all other gods, and the Buddha in fact fully excluded.[137] One may counter first by saying that there is no unified mental attitude in the NepM or in the PaśP, and that inferences must not be drawn from individual text passages to the work as a whole. Furthermore, it is precisely those passages Lévi has fixed his eye upon that show in a particularly crass manner exactly what pains the Śaivas took to assert themselves in the conflict with other religious systems. These are the passages NepM XI,57-67b, where Kṛṣṇa comes to Nepal as the Buddha and obtains, as a worshiper of Śiva, a wish granted by Pārvatī, and NepM XI,52-54, where Viṣṇu and Śiva are emphatically identified. In the first passage the subordination of Buddhism to Śaivism is, in my opinion, plain to see;[138] and my investigations have also led to similar conclusions for the second passage: On the one hand, in the last stage of development of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM Kṛṣṇa himself is described as a Śaiva who sets up Śiva liṅgas and pays Paśupati his due homage, and, on the other, the identification of Viṣṇu with Śiva, which is urged on us with a positively martial spirit, in my opinion also implies in this context Viṣṇu's inclusion in, and thereby subordination to, the Śaiva system. This identification must not be judged in isolation from its context; and in its context it reveals itself to be a means for the Śaivas to expand their own system by incorporating a decidedly Vaiṣṇava myth. The 'inclusivistic'[139] identification made here thus, in my view, had as a consequence not an opening out, with the narrative offering itself in like fashion to Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava; rather, the Vaiṣṇavas were cut off from the myth, at least those whose theology stood in the way of such an identification, and who are expressly damned as heretics in the text passage at hand.

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[135] On this topic cf. e.g. the following works: Hacker 1959; Rüping 1970; Gail 1977.

[136] Lévi 1905-08, vol. 1, p. 204.

[137] Lévi 1905-08, vol. 1, p. 207

So much for the discussion of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the NepM. Before I turn to the third surviving text version of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, that in the HimKh, another parallel legend of the same narrative, handed down in the Harivaṃśa and common to all India, will first be taken up in a separate excursus.

Though at first glance it makes no reference to Nepal, still good reasons can be given for including this Indian legend in the discussion:

- In the first place, a number of common features in content between the two versions of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend discussed previously and the corresponding Indian legend in the Harivaṃśa point to some sort of connection between the two legends. In both we find a conflict between Indra and a close relative of Prabhāvatī in combination with the love story between her and Pradyumna. In order to compare the two versions with one another, the Harivaṃśa version will be described in greater detail in the following excursus.

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[138] I have previously dealt with this passage of the NepM in detail (Brinkhaus 1980, pp. 276-281).

[139] For the current state of debate among scholars concerning the concept of 'inclusivism' introduced by Paul Hacker into Indology cf. Inklusivismus, ed. by G. Oberhammer 1983.

- Furthermore, the subsequent discussion of the HimKh version of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend will show that the mold into which the narrative has been cast is already in many parts dependent upon the Harivaṃśa version, and thus represents a kind of mixed version from the Indian and Nepalese traditions.
- Finally, in the discussion of the drama of the late Malla period we shall see that the Indian version has there even penetrated in its entirety into the history of Nepalese literature. Besides dramas from this period which have taken up the stock of Nepalese legend, there are also two extant dramas from Bhaktapur, composed in Maithili, which follow exclusively the Indian tradition of the Harivaṃśa version, and which appear to be uninfluenced by the Nepalese tradition of the legend.

All of this should be reason enough to go now into the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend from the Harivaṃśa in greater detail.

EXCURSUS II

The Indian Version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī Legend in the Harivaṃśa

It has not been very many years since P. L. Vaidya's critical edition of the *Harivaṃśa* (Hv) first appeared.[140] Thirty-six selected manuscripts as well as four old text editions serve as the basis for it. Whereas the "Vulgata" text of the earlier editions comprised 318 adhyāyas with around 18,000 verses, Vaidya has put together a critical text of only 118 adhyāyas with 6073 verses.[141] Proving especially helpful in the reconstruction of the development of the text of the Hv was the testimony of Kṣemendra, who offers a detailed recapitulation of contents in the last part of his *Bhāratamañjarī*, composed around the middle of the eleventh century. Two old manuscripts of the Hv from North India, namely a Śārada manuscript (Ś$_1$)[142] and a Newari manuscript (Ñ$_1$),[143] closely approach Kṣemendra's description. But that these text versions are not a special North Indian development becomes clear, according to Vaidya, from three South Indian Malayalam manuscripts (M$_{1-3}$), which in scope and actual readings correspond "surprisingly" well to the versions Ś$_1$ and Ñ$_1$.[144] Vaidya asserts: "My critical text of Harivaṃśa represents the most genuine and the oldest text, based as it is on the agreement of North-western, i.e., Ś$_1$; North-eastern, i.e., Ñ$_1$; and the extreme tip of the South, i.e., M$_{1-3}$. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the Critical Text in this edition represents a phase which is positively older than A.D. 1050, the age of Kṣemendra."[145]

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[140] *The Harivaṃśa*, crit. ed. by P. L. Vaidya, 2 vols., Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969-71.

[141] Cf. *The Harivaṃśa* 1969-71, vol. 1, p. xxxvii.

[142] Vaidya (*ibid*., vol. 1, p. xvi) suspects that Ś$_1$ represents "a tradition ... even older than the tradition of Mss. available to Kṣemendra (circa A.D. 1050)."

[143] Concerning MS. Ñ$_1$ Vaidya notes (*ibid*., vol. 1, p. xviii) that it is undated but very similar to the Newari MS. of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the year 1020 A.D.; but at another point (*ibid*., vol. 1, p. xxx) Vaidya names 1200 A.D. as the probable date of origin for Ñ$_1$. On the dating of this MS. cf. below p. 90 f.

[144] *The Harivaṃśa* 1969-71, vol. 1, p. xxii.

[145] *The Harivaṃśa* 1969-71, vol. 1, p. xvii.

As regards the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī episode in the Hv in particular, the corresponding "Pradyumnottara" chapter [146] has been mentioned a number of times in studies concerning the theater in ancient India; in this passage of text, performances of drama are described, and one saw in it one of the oldest pieces of evidence existing for such performances in India.[147] In contradiction to this, however, Vaidya's critical Hv edition appears to have shown that the Pradyumnottara chapter became a part of the Hv only after 1050 A.D., for neither Kṣemendra's Bhāratamañjarī nor the old manuscripts relied upon, Ś$_1$, Ñ$_1$ and M$_{1-3}$, contain this episode, which was therefore relegated as Appendix 29F, along with the preceding Hv text passages (29-29E), to the appendix volume of the critical edition.

The results of my own investigations into the age of the Pradyumnottara chapter in the Hv diverge to a certain extent from those of Vaidya. According to the Bṛhatsūcīpatra[148] the National Archives in Kathmandu house three old palm-leaf manuscripts of the Hv from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Two of these manuscripts are written in Old Newari script (more exactly: *bhujĩmola* script), and bear the dates N.S. 157 (1036/37 A.D.)[149] and N.S. 292 (1171/72 A.D.);[150] the third manuscript is written in Old Devanāgarī, with the date V.S. 1201 (1144/45 A.D.).[151] The first of the manuscripts mentioned appears to me to be identical to the Ñ$_1$ used by Vaidya but, unfortunately, only very imprecisely described; in any case, they both end rather abruptly at one and the same place in the text (App. 29A, line 287),[152] and, upon being subjected to random comparisons, agree by and large in their readings. According to Vaidya, however, manucript $\tilde{N}_1$ is without a date, whereas manuscript I 910/757 has a brief "saṃvat 100-50-7" at the end of the abruptly terminated text.[153] This date fits in well with Vaidya's above-mentioned observation that manuscript $\tilde{N}_1$ was particularly similar to the oldest known Newari manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa from the year 1020 A.D.

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[146] According to the critical Hv edition the relatively late MSS. taken into account there designated this chapter in the colophons as "Pradyumnottara," "Vajranābhavadha" or "Vajranābhapradyumnottara." The two older MSS. examined by me (see below) have only "Pradyumnottara."

[147] Cf. Lévi 1890, pp. 327ff.; Winternitz 1909, vol. 1, pp. 385f.; Keith 1924, pp. 48f.

[148] Cf. Bṛhatsūcīpatra 1968/69, vol. 8, pp. 320-330 (esp. pp. 320, 323 and 326).

[149] The MS. is also briefly mentioned in Sastri 1905, p. 25; an erroneous date, however, is given there: N.S. 257 (instead of 157).

[150] The catalogue numbers of the National Archives are I 910/757 and I 455/750; these MSS. have been filmed by the NGMPP under the serial numbers A 29/4 (the film unfortunately ends, to use the numeration of the critical edition, at App. 29, line 269) and A 27/1.

[151] The catalogue number of the National Archives is V 448/769, and it has been filmed by the NGMPP under A 27/5.

What is of interest for the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Hv is the following: Vaidya notes with regard to manuscript $\tilde{N}_1$ that in it Appendix 29 does not follow adhyāya 92, as is the case in all other manuscripts, but Appendix 42,[154] thus forming the end of the complete work. This is likewise the case in manuscript I 910/757 of the National Archives, in which the entire Appendix 29-29F appears at the end of the Hv behind Appendix 42. In the Old Devanāgarī manuscript of the Hv (V 448/769), in contrast, the Pradyumnottara chapter as is customary in later manuscripts, has been moved back to directly before adhyāya 93. The following state of affairs thereby emerges: In the first place, the two Old Newari manuscipts represent an older stage of the text nowhere preserved in the other Hv manuscripts. Whereas in the manuscript from the year 1172/73 A.D. the entire Appendix 29-29F is found at the end of the Hv, in the older manuscript of 1036/37 A.D. only the first portion (Appendix 29-29A, line 287) is preserved; but since the manuscript ends with an abrupt break in the contents and an unexpected terminal colophon, the possibility cannot be excluded that this manuscript, too, originally contained the entire text of Appendix 29-29F. Furthermore, the Old Devanāgarī manuscript of 1144/45 shows that this appended text passage had already by the first half of the twelfth century been drawn into the middle of the Hv text, where, on the evidence of later Hv manuscripts, it has maintained its place securely ever since.

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152. The last reference to N_1 in the critical apparatus of Vaidya's edition is to the colophon following line 287 (The Harivaṃśa 1969-71, vol. 2, p. 281).

153. As this date projects out to the extreme edge of the lower right-hand corner of the last page, and is no longer easily legible, it is possible that it did not come through on the film available to Vaidya.

154. Cf. The Harivaṃśa 1969-71, vol. 2, p. 272.

The following conclusion is of interest with regard to the theme of the present study: The Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend as handed down in the Hv was already known in Nepal in the twelfth century, and perhaps as early as the first half of the eleventh. From the findings of the manuscripts it even looks as though this Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend was for the first time appended to the text of the Hv in Nepal. Does the version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend later to spread out over the whole of India therefore derive from Nepal? If that is so, then besides the local version of the legend which was connected with the drainage of the Nepal Valley, a second locally unbound version would have developed in Nepal which found such a reception outside of Nepal that it became a permanent part of the Hv and so spread throughout all India.

Nevertheless, the two versions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend differ quite significantly in content. In order to give at least an idea of the line of the narrative according to the Hv version, I give the following - very compressed - summary of contents.[155]

> In response to a question by Janamejaya (lines 1-6) Vaiśampāyana declares himself willing to tell the story of Vajranābha's slaying (7-8): The asura Vajranābha once practiced austerities until Brahmā granted him two wishes, namely to be proof against death at the hands of the gods and to obtain a city fortress, named Vajrapura, safe against outside attack (9-19). Later, giving himself airs, Vajranābha demanded of Indra that he renounce his kingship of the gods (2o-3o). At first Indra succeeded in putting off Vajranābha by securing his assent to hand over the decision to their common father Kaśyapa (31-39). In the time won by this delay Indra tool counsel with Kṛṣṇa on how best to lay Vajranābha low (4o-5o). - In the meantime a dancer named Bhadra aroused the enthusiasm of the maharṣis during Vasudeva's horse sacrifice and had various wishes fulfilled, such as being able to visit all places on earth, being on all occasions successful etc. (51-7o). - Indra decided to send heavenly geese to Prabhāvatī,

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[155] Two very short summaries of the contents of the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Hv are to be found in Holtzmann 1893, pp. 289f., and Winternitz 19o9, vol. 1, pp. 385f.; furthermore, mention may be made of a rather free verse rendition of the legend by Graf v. Schack 1877, pp. 67-86.

Vajranābha's daughter, and to Pradyumna in order to arouse love in them for each other, it being intended that Pradyumna should then go to Vajrapura dressed as a dancer and kill Vajranābha (71-1o7). The geese first stirred up in Prabhāvatī love for Pradyumna (1o8-189) and then in Vajranābha curiosity towards the dancer Bhadra (19o-22o). Thereupon Indra and Kṛṣṇa sent Pradyumna and other Yādavas as a troupe of actors under the direction of Bhadra to Vajrapura, where they obtained entrance and aroused the enthusiams of the asuras by their performances (221-3o5). In the night Pradyumna visited Prabhāvatī in the form of a bee and entered into a Gāndharva marriage with her (3o6-395). Many secret rendezvous followed, and at the same time the Yādavas spied on the activities of the asuras (396-418). The two Yādavas Gada and Sāmba likewise entered secretly into Gāndharva marriages with Vajranābha's nieces Candravatī and Guṇavatī (419-456).[156] When at last Kaśyapa decided that Vajranābha should remain in Vajrapura and leave heaven to Indra, the asura girded himself up for battle against Indra (613-63o). But in the meantime the secret relations between the asura girls and the Yādavas were discovered, and Vajranābha ordered that the Yādavas first be killed (631-666). With the consent of their asura wives, the Yādavas decided to fight (667-694). After a number of battles back and forth the asuras were finally overcome and killed by the Yādavas with the help of Indra and Kṛṣṇa (695-793). At the end Kṛṣṇa and Indra distributed the goods plundered in Vajrapura (794-842).

As one can see, the course the action takes is as a whole quite different from that of the texts of the Nepalese Pradyumnavijaya tradition discussed already. Nevertheless, the following correspondences in content may be registered:

- The Hv version has in common with the oldest determinable stage of the Nepalese Pradyumnavijaya legend the fact that Pradyumna secretly enters into a Gāndharva marriage with a Daitya girl named Prabhāvatī and afterwards kills in battle her closest male relative and protector.

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[156] The passage that follows deviates both in prosody (various triṣṭubh meters) and content from the context, and may be left out of consideration here.

- If one takes in addition the Nepalese version of the Indradamana-Indra episode into account, then the following further parallels emerge: In both cases Prabhāvatī's protector and close realtive has obtained assurances from Brahmā that he cannot be killed by the gods, so that Kṛṣṇa and Indra, neither of whom can get at him, are forced to send Pradyumna to do the job. In both versions it is Indra, in the last analysis, for whom Pradyumna fights against the Daitya.
- Possibly the identity of names in the two versions in the case of Candrāvatī/Candravatī is no accident.

These correspondences, while appearing to me to suffice for postulating a connection between the Nepalese and the Indian versions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, do not yet allow the dependence relationship between the two to be determined.

An old reference to Prabhāvatī found mentioned by Sylvain Lévi appears to help us further: "L'auteur d'une biographie de Vasubandhu traduite en chinois par un disciple immédiat de ce docteur entre 557 et 569, rapporte les amours de Viṣṇu avec Prabhāvatī, soeur de (Mahā) Indra damana, comme l'origine du nom de Puruṣapura, la moderne Pechaver, aux confins Nord-Ouest de l'Inde."[157] Without a doubt, the Nepalese Pradyumnavijaya version is decidedly closer to this old reference than is the Indian version of the Hv: Prabhāvatī is retained as the sister of Indradamana, and Viṣṇu's role has shifted - presumably with Kṛṣṇa as the intervening link to Pradyumna. I suspect that Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī first found their place paired together in the Nepalese version and from there were taken up into the Hv. Further, the conflict between the Daitya king and Indra in the Nepalese version is obviously explainable from the old name Indradamana, and is even explicitly brought into connection with it. This conflict may in turn have inspired the one between Vajranābha and Indra in the Hv version. In view of the two mentioned thematic elements, the Nepalese version appears to me to offer a plausible stage of development as the intervening link between the old Viṣṇu-Prabhāvatī episode to the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī version of the Hv. In the Hv version, then, the local references of the Nepalese version would have been eliminated, and, in addition, two further elements of the legend were changed: In the Hv Prabhāvatī is no longer protected by her brother but by her father, and there also the asura king threatens Indra acutely, whereas in the Nepalese version only an earlier defeat and humiliation of Indra are avenged.

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[157] Lévi 1905-08, vol. 1, pp. 370f. (where references to further literature may be found).

If my assumption is right that the Hv version developed only by way of the intervening link of the Nepalese one, then we would thereby have a terminus ad quem for the stage of development of the Nepalese Pradyumnavijaya legend which contains the Indradamana-Indra episode and, perhaps, also the figure of Candrāvatī: This version could with certainty be dated to before 1144/45 A.D., the oldest record of the Pradyumnottara chapter in a Hv manuscript, and perhaps even before 1o36/37 A.D., the date of the oldest Newari manuscript.

As hinted at briefly above, the third Paurāṇic text of the Nepalese version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, that in the HimKh, offers even clearer indications of a connection with the Hv version. These begin to appear already from the fact that the corresponding chapter in the colophons of the HimKh likewise bears the title "Pradyumnottara".

The Pradyumnottara chapter of the Himavatkhaṇḍa

The previously mentioned text edition of the HimKh is based on relatively recent manuscripts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[158] and it is for this reason that I have drawn upon the oldest dated manuscript known to me, from the year 1676.[159] Whenever in the following summary of contents and discussion of the Pradyumnottara chapter the numeration of this manuscript deviates from those of the text editions,[160] I follow the numeration of the manuscript.

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[158] Cf. above p. 8 .

[159] The MS. NGMPP No. E 34o/4 bears the date of N.S. 796 vaiśākha.

166,1-17

In the Nepal Valley there once lived three sons of Bāṇa, namely Vajranābha (also called Indradamana), Virādha and Śaṅkha, along with their sister Prabhāvatī. The latter refused to marry any Daitya. Her brothers laid out a park for her on the mountain Candanā, and they themselves lived in the city of Suprabhā.

166,18-168,14

Vajranābha had as a young man wanted to live up to his by-name Indradamana, and so he practiced austerities until Brahmā made him invincible to the gods. Vajranābha thereupon challenged Indra to battle. He defeated him, but was prevented by Brahmā from killing him. Brahmā sent Vajranābha back to earth and solaced Indra with the promise that Pradyumna would one day kill Vajranābha and his brothers. Vajranābha conquered the lower world as well as the whole of the earth, which he ruled over from Suprabhā. He dammed up the Vāgmatī for Prabhāvatī and ordered Śaṅkha to watch over the dam, and Virādha to live in Vāgmatī Lake.

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[160] A table of correspondences of the HimKh adhyāyas 166ff.:

Edition	MS.	Edition	MS.	Edition	MS.
166	166	176	173	183	180
167	167	177	174	184	-
168	168	178	175	185	181
169	169	179	176	186	182
173	170	180	177	187	183
174	171	181	178	188	184
175	172	182	179	189	185

The numbering in the edition jumps without apparent reason from adhyāya 169 to adhyāya 173; adhyāya 184 of the edition, a long Vāgmatīstuti, is not yet found in the MS.

169,1-29

At the counseling of Nārada Prabhāvatī worshiped Devī until she appeared to her and promised her Pradyumna as the best husband imaginable. Then Devī aroused in Pradyumna a yearning for Prabhāvatī.

17o,1-61

Pradyumna set out on a tīrtha pilgrimage accompanied by Kṛṣṇa, Gada and Śāmba. They finally reached the headwater region of the Vāgmatī.

171,1-18

There they met Nārada, who reported the following state of affairs: Sūryaketu was longing to go to heaven. Candravatī was destined to be the wife of Pradyumna but was being assiduously courted by Mahendradamana. Pradyumna should therefore marry her. The Vāgmatī was being held prisoner. And as Prabhāvatī was yearning for Pradyumna, he should abduct her and so spend the night where they were now, while Kṛṣṇa should retire for the night to Dolādri. Kṛṣṇa answered that he would go to Dolādri, and his sons should remain there. Pradyumna would kill Mahendradamana and marry Prabhāvatī and Candravatī. Sūryaketu would enter into "Śiva's city" together with his family. Pradyumna would free the Vāgmatī with the discus.

172,1-173,44

Prabhāvatī dreamed about Pradyumna, and her companion Haṃsī[161] interpreted the dream to mean that Pradyumna would soon come to her. Pradyumna and his companions dressed themselves up as actors and so gained entrance into Suprabhā, where they aroused the enthusiasm of the Daityas by their performance. In the night Pradyumna flew to Prabhāvatī in the form of a bee and entered into a Gāndharva marriage with her. The two left the palace before break of day in the form of bees, led the other Yādavas out of the city and hastened on to

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[161] Whether *haṃsī* is here a name or simply means 'goose' is not clear from the text.

Dvāravatī. It was only in the morning that the Daityas discovered the disappearance of Prabhāvatī and the putative actors.

174,1-34

Nārada betrayed to Indradamana the fact that the actors had been Yādavas and that they had abducted Prabhāvatī to Dvāravatī. Nārada counseled him to steal Kṛṣṇa's Kaustubha jewel from Dvāravatī while Kṛṣṇa was still on Dolādri, and at the same time to bring back Prabhāvatī.

175,1-47

Indradamana was successful in the theft and in the repatriation of Prabhāvatī. Nārada counseled Pradyumna to inform Kṛṣṇa of events. When Kṛṣṇa learned of what had happened, in anger he directed Pradyumna to kill Indradamana, bring back Prabhāvatī and the jewel to Dvāravatī and, finally, to split open the dam in order to free the Vāgmatī. Kṛṣṇa also had Indra informed of the impending action.

176,1-5o

Pradyumna worshiped Pārvatī until the Vāgmatī finally appeared and prophesied that Pradyumna would kill Śaṅkha, Dāna and Indradamana, split open the dam and recover the jewel from Virādha's belly. But first Indradamana would come to see Candravatī. Pradyumna extolled the Vāgmatī, whereupon he was promised by her invincibility and entry into Rudra's heaven. Pradyumna thereupon worshiped Śatarudra on Śiva's mountain. Indradamana approached with the intention of seeing Candravatī, but he was put off by her friend with the demand to ask for Candravatī's hand first from her father.

177,1-178,3o

The Yādavas stormed the dam. Śaṅkha appeared and was killed in man-to-man combat by Pradyumna. Virādha came to the surface, cried to Dāna for help and disappeared back into the lake. Balarāma fought against Dāna and defeated him.

179,1-18o,54

Vajranābha entered the fray. After long battles back and forth, in which Garuḍa, Indra and Kṛṣṇa were variously involved, Pradyumna was finally able to decapitate Vajranābha with Kṛṣṇa's discus.

181,1-47

Kṛṣṇa freed the Vāgmatī by breaching the dam with his discus. In the course of the draining of the Vāgmatī Virādha came to the surface. With Garuḍa's support Pradyumna also succeded in killing him and in removing from his belly the jewel, which he handed over to Kṛṣṇa. Then everyone bathed themselves at the confluence of the Vāgmatī and Prabhāvatī, not far from the mountain Kūrmādri.

182,1-1o9

Kṛṣṇa and his companions thereupon made an extended tīrtha pilgrimage within the Nepal Valley.

183,1-37

Afterwards Nārada summoned everyone to Mṛgendraśikhara, where Sūryaketu gave away his daughter, Candravatī, to Pradyumna. Following this everyone journeyed to Suprabhā, where Pradyumna again met up with Prabhāvatī.

184,1-38

Kṛṣṇa distributed the treasures piled up in Suprabhā to their rightful owners. Indra paid his thanks to Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna, and took his leave. Nārada hastened on ahead to Dvāravatī.

185,1-2o

When Kṛṣṇa wanted to send Pradyumna and the other relatives back to Dvāravatī and return himself to Dolādri, Pradyumna persuaded him to come back first with him to Dvāravatī. There a warm welcome was prepared for the heroes. But a few days later Kṛṣṇa returned forever to Dolādri to worship Paśupati.

So much for a recapitulation of the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh. This text obviously follows almost throughout the whole of it the Pradyumnavijaya version of the PaśP, including, that is, the large interpolation in PaśP VII,19-X,33. But it is also clear that the text of the HimKh is based too, if only sporadically, upon the Pradyumnottara version of the Hv. The elements in the HimKh which have been taken from the Hv are relatively easy to isolate, and they will now be discussed briefly, before I take up in some detail the development leading from the PaśP to the HimKh version.

Correspondences with the Hv version

Already in the beginning verses of the narrative are to be found the first clear references to the Hv version: In 166,5-6 Vajranābha is introduced as the brother of Virādha and Śaṅkha, is identified as Indradamana (7) and is, correspondingly, again Prabhāvatī's brother (1o). In the whole of the following Pradyumnottara chapter the name Vajranābha, or its shortened form Vajra, is used in alternation with the names Indradamana (less often Mahendradamana) and Śakratāpa. An echo of the contents in the Hv may be seen in the fact that on the tīrtha pilgrimage leading him to Nepal Pradyumna, besides by Kṛṣṇa, is also accompanied by Gada and Sāmba (HimKh 17o,8). Together with him they form the troupe of actors in adhyāya 172. Otherwise neither has any significance whatever for the HimKh version. They are later mentioned once more during the fighting between the Yādavas and the Daityas (HimKh 179,31-35), but they play only a subordinate role in it.

The contents of the two HimKh adhyāyas 172-173, which portray the coming together of Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī, their Gāndharva marriage and the abduction of Prabhāvatī to Dvāravatī, are taken almost completely from the Hv. The parallels begin with the fact that Prabhāvatī has a goose (*haṃsī*) as her companion, in whom she confides her dream (172,1-21); in the Hv one of the geese sent by Indra, Śucimukhī by name, becomes one of her most trusted companions as well as counselor in matters of love. Further corresponding to the Hv prototype is the fact that Pradyumna and his relatives gain admittance into Suprabhā as a troupe of actors and there perform plays (172,23-4o), and that in the night Pradyumna steals into the palace in the form of a bee to visit Prabhāvatī (173,11-12). The redactor of the two HimKh adhyāyas 172-173 appears to have had a particular fondness for such magic feats: In 172,19-20 the goose promises Prabhāvatī it will conjure up Pradyumna with the help of a *devīmantra*; in 173,9-12 the goose flies in the form of a bee to Pradyumna and transforms him into a bee too, in which form they return to Prabhāvatī; and in 173,39-41 Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī again take on the form of bees and so leave the palace unnoticed.

Finally, the close relationship between the HimKh adhyāyas 172-173 in particular and the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Hv is again confirmed by a number of similarities and word-for-word correspondences in the language of the two texts.[162]

In closing, we may raise the question of the possible motives prompting a redactor to introduce the mentioned elements of the Hv into the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh, which by and large follows the Nepalese version of the legend as found in the PaśP. The redactor of HimKh 172-173 may have, for instance, taken exception to Prabhāvatī's suddenly staged appearance in the PaśP version in order to enter into a Gāndharva marriage with Pradyumna (PaśP VII,9ff.), and therefore have taken up into the HimKh the description of their coming together as he found it in the Hv. A corresponding motive for the identification of Indradamana with Vajranābha, however, does not appear to me to exist. In my opinion, two divergent versions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend were here intended to be harmonized with each other, since importance was attached to both: The one was the local tradition, which was supposed to be presented anew, and the other, as part of the Hv, was of significance beyond the regional boundary. The redactor of the HimKh text followed, in accordance with the general character of the HimKh, predominantly the local tradition, but beyond that he either could not avoid taking into consideration the Pan-Indian tradition of the Hv version, as this had perhaps since become well known in Nepal, or he even consciously wished to make use of the authority associated with the latter version for his own new one, combining the two traditions into a kind of mixed version.

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[162] HimKh 172,38-39 reads practically the same as Hv App. 29F, lines 253-256; HimKh 173,4 has taken up the entire line 337 of Hv App. 29F; and in HimKh 173,25-33 are found echoes of Hv App. 29F, lines 374-391.

Correspondences with and divergences from the PaśP version

The general observation having already been made that the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh corresponds in large measure to the PaśP version, what follows now will on the one hand be taken up with determining the common features of the two texts, and, on the other, with marking the changes in the HimKh version from the PaśP prototype, this in order to pursue further the development of the Nepalese version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend.

166,5-169,6:

This text passage consists of two parts as regards contents: In 166,5-17 and 169,1-6, which for the most part correspond word for word with PaśP V,10-21,[163] the Daityas Vajranābha = Indradamana, Virādha, Śaṅka and Prabhāvatī are introduced and the conditions of their life portrayed. Inserted into the middle of that, in a kind of flashback, is the Indradamana-Indra episode (166,18-168,14), which for its part shows much wording suggestive of PaśP XI,12-69.[164] In the discussion of the PaśP version mention was made of the fact that towards the end of the Indradamana-Indra episode the damming up of the Vāgvatī, already treated before in PaśP

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[163] The exact correspondences are:

Himkh 166,10-13	–	PaśP V,12-15
14-15	–	17-18
16-17	–	10-11
169,1ab	–	16ab
4c-6	–	19c-21

[164] Similarities in the use of language, including at times somewhat lengthy literal correspondences, occur in the following passages:

HimKh		PaśP	HimKh		PaśP
166,18	–	XI,12	167,29	–	XI,41-42
31-35	–	15-18	36	–	44
41	–	20	40-42	–	44-45
46-47	–	22-24	47-67	–	48-63
167,1-13	–	25-37	168,7-13	–	64-69

V,12-13, is portrayed a second time in PaśP XI,63-65.[165] This repetition is avoided in the HimKh version by the episode's having been shifted forward in the text. Further, as was posited for the NepM version, the Indradamana-Indra episode may also have been felt by the redactor of the HimKh to have been introduced too abruptly and too far along into the narrative of the PaśP text, and so for this reason was shifted forward. Finally, one may note that the HimKh redactor knew of the Hv version, in which likewise at the very beginning the conflict between Vajranābha and Indra is described in detail, forming the basis for the romance between Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī.

Apart from the identification of Indradamana with Vajranābha, the contents of the HimKh version follow rather closely the plot line preestablished in the PaśP. Still, as a whole, the narration in the HimKh is more detailed than in the PaśP, especially during the portrayal of the battle between the Daityas and the gods.[166] In individual passages the HimKh version is also clearer than the PaśP text; for example, in HimKh 167,32-36 Indra is unambiguously attacked and defeated by Indradamana.[167]

169,7-17o,61:

This text passage does not contain any correspondences in wording to the PaśP passage parallel to it in content, V,19-VI,12. Among the additions to the contents, which involve, however, no changes in plot from the PaśP prototype, the following three passages may be highlighted:

- According to PaśP V,2o Prabhāvatī worshiped the goddess Umā "pursuant to the counsel of a maharṣi" (*maharṣer vacanena*). In the HimKh text the maharṣi is specified as being Nārada, and his advice to Prabhāvatī is laid out in six verses (169,7-12).
- Umā's words to Prabhāvatī are alo amplified, in that her promise to bring Pradyumna to her is supplemented by a preview of coming events (169,22-26).

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[165] Cf. above p. 37 .

[166] Cf. HimKh 167,22-37 with PaśP XI,4o-46.

[167] On the problems surrounding the corresponding passage PaśP XI,43-44 cf. above p. 65 .

- In the PaśP the tīrtha pilgrimage which takes Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna in the end to Nepal is disposed of in four verses (VI,9-12); in the HimKh, in contrast, the corresponding journey, on which Gada and Sāmba also go along, is portrayed in 170,9-61.

171,1-18:

The contents of Nārada's situation report as well as Kṛṣṇa's answer to it have been recapitulated in detail on p. 60ff. Almost the entire situation report has been taken verbatim from the PaśP version and supplemented by a second passage, which likewise comes from the PaśP text.[168] Kṛṣṇa's response, on the contrary, provides no word-for-word correspondences with the PaśP prototype.

Nārada's situation report departs in content from the PaśP version only in Sūryaketu's longing to go to heaven instead of to Śvetakā, as he does in PaśP VI,14.[169] Possibly the HimKh has here preserved an older reading than the PaśP, in which case the latter may have been subsequently altered under the influence of the NepM version. Kṛṣṇa, too, promises in his response that Sūryaketu will enter "Śiva's city", which here seems to mean Śiva's heavenly realm (171,14).[170] To be sure, the text has been brought over to a Śaiva scheme of things, but in his essential character Sūryaketu is likely here again meant to be a man aspiring to heaven.

Of final note is the fact that in HimKh 171,15 Kṛṣṇa promises that Pradyumna will split the dam open with the discus and free the Vagmatī. In HimKh 175,40 Kṛṣṇa lays a charge to that effect upon him. But not long afterwards the Vāgmatī promises that Kṛṣṇa will breach the dam (176,13),[171] and this event is in fact reported in 181,5-8, in conformity with the two discussed versions of the PaśP and the NepM. I have no ready explanation for the deviation in content in 171,15 and 175,4o.[172]

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[168] HimKh 171,3-8 corresponds to PaśP VI,14-19, HimKh 171,9-10b to PaśP VII,1-2b, and HimKh 171,11ab to PaśP VI,20cd.

[169] PaśP VI,14d reads *śvetakāpurikāṅkṣayā*, and HimKh 171,3d, in contrast, *svarge gamanakāṅkṣayā*.

[170] Cf. above p. 26 .

[171] This verse is incomprehensible in the HimKh edition (*tato bhetsyasi sambhūta cakreṇa sūryavarcasā / kṛṣṇas te janako vatsa* ...) but in the MS. (NGMPP No. E 340/4, fol. 336b) easily understandable: *tato bhetsyati setuṃ tac cakreṇa ... / kṛṣṇas ...*

174,1-175,47:

The HimKh text follows the PaśP prototype again from adhyāya 174 on, once the meeting of Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī and Prabhāvatī's abduction have taken place in adhyāyas 172-173 in accordance with the Hv version (the handing over of Candrāvatī to the Vāgvatī of PaśP VII,22-28 is entirely left out). Adhyāyas 174-175 correspond in content to the PaśP adhyāyas VIII-IX and again contain sporadic echoes in the use of language.[173] In the HimKh text three changes in content may be noted in particular:

- Indradamana no longer only steals Kṛṣṇa's jewel from Dvāravatī but, above all, recovers his sister, no mention of which is made in the PaśP version.
- Kṛṣṇ's obscure 'fang jewel' is replaced in the HimKh version by his famous Kaustubha jewel.
- In the HimKh it is expressly emphasized that during the theft Kṛṣṇa is sojourning not in Dvāravatī but on Dolādri.

These changes are obviously meant to remove awkwardnesses and obscutities from the plot line of the older PaśP version, and so can be viewed as conscious elaborations.

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[172] Mention should at least be made of the fact that there is a further text in which the freeing of the Vāgmatī is likewise ascribed to Pradyumna: the *Varāhapurāṇa* (in a brief reference to the drainage myth of the Nepal Valley). In VarāhaP 215,41-42 Śiva promises:

41 *tatra nāgahrade ghore sthāsyāmy antar jale hy aham /*
triṃśadvarṣasahasrāṇi sarvabhūtahite rataḥ //

42 *yadā vṛṣṇikulotpannaḥ kṛṣṇacakreṇa parvatān /*
pāṭayitvendravacanād dānavān nihaniṣyati //

[173] Cf. HimKh 174,19 with PaśP VIII,21
175,17 with IX,1
175,35-43 with IX,11-18

176,1-5o:

This adhyāya corresponds to PaśP X,1-29. The most notable new feature of this section is a clear Śaiva tone in the first part, where the Vāgmatī is identified with Pārvatī. Pradyumna first worships Pārvatī during a bath in the Vāgmatī (1). Once the Vāgmatī satisfies herself of Pradyumna's bhakti (2), she surfaces from underneath the water as *Vāgīśvarī* (3), or *Gaurī* (4), and gives exact instructions for the coming events (5-18). Thereupon Pradyumna exalts the Vāgmatī (2o-31) and receives the promise of invincibility and that of Rudra's heaven as well (33-36). Finally, Pradyumna worships Śatarudra on "Śivakūṭa" (38-39).

177,1-18o,54:

Whereas in the PaśP Pradyumna's battles against Śaṅkha and Mahendradamana are dealt with in 53 verses (XII,4-XIII,37), the corresponding description in the HimKh has been expanded to 165. These amplifications need not here be taken up individually, as they do not appear to be changes or improvements in content so much as due rather to the widespread pleasure also encountered elsewhere in the Purāṇas of delineating the tumult of battle.

181,1-182,1o9:

In HimKh 181,1-26, corresponding to PaśP XIV,1-25, Kṛṣṇa's freeing of the Vāgmatī and Pradyumna's battle against Virādha are portrayed. Since in 181,26 Pradyumna hands over the jewel taken out of Virādha's belly to Kṛṣṇa, one may assume that the Kaustubha jewel stolen from Kṛṣṇa is meant here.

Following Pradyumna's battle and victory in the HimKh there is a reversal in the narrative sequence compared with the PaśP prototype: The tīrtha pilgrimage is now portrayed before Pradyumna's and Candravatī's marriage. This change is based again upon an obscurity in the contents of the PaśP text: Pradyumna kills Virādha (XIV,12-21b), the Vāgvatī delivers Candrāvatī over to him (21c-23), Pradyumna and Candrāvatī are married to one another (24-31b), and afterwards all prepare to go on a tīrtha pilgrimage, which now inexplicably starts from Mṛgendraśikhara (43ff.), and which, incidentally, later returns to, among other places, the spot where Virādha's lifeless turtle body now, as "Kūrmaparvata", forms a part of the landscape (53-56). In the NepM this necessary change of location is carried out in XI,64-65.[174] The redactor of the HimKh, however, has come up with another solution: He has the tīrtha pilgrimage begin where Virādha was killed, and only subsequently (183,12) lets the Yādavas go on to Mṛgendraśikhara, where Pradyumna is married to Candravatī. At the bottom of this solution presumably lies the intention to focus attention on that place in the Nepal Valley which is expressly related to the Pradyumnottara legend: the hill a few kilometers south of Kathmandu known today as Cobhār,[175] which formerly, on the basis of the Pradyumnavijaya legend, was also called 'Turtle Mountain'.[176] The special feature of this hill is the fact that a spur of it, projecting to the south-southeast, is cut off by a narrow rocky gorge through which the Vāgamatī is forced to flow.[177] It is precisely this feature which HimKh 181,27 appears to me to be referring to when it says:

> *sarito mārgavāhinyaś chedite kūrmakandhare /*[178]
> *anyābhir āpagābhiḥ sā vavāha saha vāgmatī //*
>
> "The rivers went on their way when the turtle's neck was cut off;
> The Vāgmatī flowed [again] together with the other rivers."

Cobhār Hill is obviously here identified with Virādha's body, and the above-mentioned spur with the turtle's severed head. The following verse (181,28) contains still another geographical designation making clear reference to the Pradyumnottara legend:

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174. Cf. above p. 69f.

175. *Cobhār* derives from the Newari expression *co-bahāl* = 'monastery community (*bahāl*) on the mountain (*co*)'.

176. *kūrmaparvata* (PaśP XIV,53 = NepM XI,111), *kūrmagiri* (PaśP XIV,56 = NepM XI,112), *kūrmādri* (HimKh 181,35) and *kacchapācala* (NepM XI,113); besides these references in Hindu texts containing the Pradyumnavijaya legend, the occurrence of corresponding expressions in Buddhist texts, too, indicates that this name, which today appears to have fallen into oblivion, must formerly have been quite widespread. For references in Buddhist texts cf. Lévi 1908, vol. 3, p. 171; History of Nepal, ed. by D. Wright, 1972, pp. 95 and 102; Nevārīgītimañjarī, ed. by S. Lienhard, 1974, song 24.

177. Cf. the hill of Cobhar and the south-southeastern spur of it containing the town of Thānāgāũ on the maps "Kathmandu Valley, 1:10.000" (leaf 10: Pātan) and "Kathmandu Valley, 1:50.000", 1977.

178. So the MS. filmed by the NGMPP under No. 340/4, fol. 343b; the text edition reads *kūrmakandare*.

spaṣṭāyāṃ ca rasāyāṃ vai prabhāvatyā[179] *samaṃ mune /*
vāmatyāḥ saṃgamaṃ prekṣya mumoda keśavo bhṛśam //

"When the ground was [once again] visible,[18o] Kṛṣṇa viewed the confluence of the Vāgmatī with the Prabhāvatī and was highly pleased, O muni."

'Prabhāvatī' is the Sanskrit name of the river Nakhu-kholā, which flows into the Vāgmatī near Cobhār.[181]

Kṛṣṇa's description of the tīrthas that follows in adhyāya 182 is, with its more than one hundred verses, a broadly conceived revision of that theme, showing practically so significant correspondences with the description of the tīrthas in the PaśP.

183,1-185,2o:

After the tīrtha pilgrimage the Yādavas make their way to Sūryaketu on top of Mṛgendraśikhara. Similar to what was discussed in the NepM version,[182] a genuine *kanyādāna* performed by Sūryaketu, missing in the PaśP, is described again in the HimKh (183,14-15).

After that an entirely new scene is introduced into the HimKh, namely the Yādavas' visit to Suprabhā (183,17-185,11). This scene consists essentially of four parts:

- First, in 183,24-35 the reuniting of Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī is portrayed in detail. The description of the following night of love-making corresponds to the second night of love-making in PaśP X,34-4o, from which the HimKh has taken a number of verses verbatim.[183]
- A second episode is the distribution by Kṛṣṇa of the treasures stolen and hoarded up by the Daityas in Suprabhā (184,1-11). This section

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[179] So the MS. E 34o/4, fol. 343b; the text edition reads *prabhāvatyāṃ*.

[18o] What is likely meant is: After the water dammed up by the turtle's body had flown off, ...

[181] Cf. Lévi 19o5, vol. 1, p. 371; History of Nepal, ed. by B. J. Hasrat, 197o, p. 24. The river name 'Prabhāvatī/Prabhāmatī' is also attested in Buddhist works: The Vṛhat Svayambhū Purāṇam, ed. by H. Sastri, 1894, pp. 251 and 279; History of Nepal, ed. by D. Wright, 1972, p. 94.

[182] Cf. above pp. 39 and 7o.

[183] HimKh 183,33-35c agrees word for word with PaśP X,38-4oc.

does not have any parallel in the PaśP, and again is likely to have been stimulated by the Hv version.[184]

- In HimKh 184,12-32 Indra's expression of thanks and leave-taking from Kṛṣṇa and the other Yādavas is given relatively extensive treatment. Thematically, this passage corresponds to the brief PaśP XIV, 31c-32b. Of note in HimKh 184,19-25 is a short Kṛṣṇastuti in which Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu are twice identified with Brahmā and Śiva,[185] and once with Śiva alone.[186]
- The last part of the scene in Suprabhā (185,1-11), again an innovation beyond the PaśP version, is a preparation for the end of the Pradyumnottara chapter: Kṛṣṇa wants to return directly to Dolādri in order to worship Paśupati but lets himself be persuaded by Pradyumna to go first with him to Dvāravatī.

At the end of the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP Nārada's announcement of the imminent return of the Yādavas to Dvārakā and the preparations made to receive them is given relatively detailed treatment (PaśP XIV,63-72), but the reception itself that follows is only briefly mentioned (73-74). In the HimKh version, too, it was briefly remarked in the middle of the Suprabhā scene that Nārada had gone ahead to Dvāravatī to announce the impending return of the Yādavas (184,33-34), and in 185,14-17 the reception of the Yādavas in Dvāravatī is portrayed.

The conclusion of the Pradyumnottara chapter, however, is Kṛṣṇa's return to the top of Dolādri, where up to the present he is said to have been devoting himself to the service of Śiva:

tataḥ samāgato bhūyo dolādrau keśavo mune /
tasthau cādyāpi tatrāsau sevayan paśupeśvaram //

This conclusion has without a doubt been placed by the Śaivas at the end of the Pradyumnottara chapter, and so at the same time of the entire HimKh, as a kind of parting shot. The idea of having Śiva worshiped by Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu specifically on Dolādri may have been stimulated by the PaśP verse XIV,48 discussed above (p. 47 f.), with the reading *pūjayiṣyanti lokāś ca tatra vyaktaṃ vṛṣadhvajam* (48cd).

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[184] Cf. the concluding scene of the Pradyumnottara chapter in the Hv.

[185] HimKh 184,2oab: *tvam eva bhagavān sākṣāt kartā hartā ca pālakaḥ ; 184,24ab: ekamūrtis trayo devā brahmaviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ.*

[186] HimKh 184,21b: *maheśvarātmako vibhuḥ.*

The relation of the Pradyumnottara chapter in the HimKh to the Pradyumnavijaya text of the PaśP has thus been discussed in detail, and the fact has emerged that the PaśP version in its extant form must by and large have served as the basis for the redaction of the HimKh version. On the other hand, the HimKh text shows no signs of any correspondences with the NepM version which could not be explained on the basis of the PaśP version or of prior stages in its textual history as common sources. Thus the versions of the NepM and of the HimKh represent two independent chains of devlopment of the Pradyumnavijaya narrative.

But the external form of the narrative in the HimKh also differs considerably from the PaśP text. The legend has for the most part been provided with a new linguistic shape, and has been presented almost throughout more broadly and in greater detail. Nevertheless, only little has been changed in the narrative sequence, and for those passages in which the HimKh version diverges in content one can usually cite in the parallel passages of the PaśP awkwardnesses or obscurities in content which led in the HimKh to changes, in the sense of improvements or clarifications. For two cases in particular, however, this explanation for deviations in the HimKh does not suffice: on the one hand, where the HimKh version has taken up elements from the Pradyumnottara text of the Hv, and, on the other, in passages which have been introduced supplementally with the clear aim of giving the material a Śaiva slant. Along with the linguistic modifications and the more detailed representation of the narrative, these two elements are the essential innovations particularly characterizing the HimKh version as a further stage of development of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend.

The motives which may have incited the redactor of the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh to take elements from the Hv version have already been touched upon above. It is likely that the Hv version was drawn upon not so much in order to help remove deficiencies of the PaśP version as rather for its own sake, that is, on the strength of its own authority. The intention was for the local tradition to be harmonized with the Pan-Indian one, or at least for the former to be brought closer to the latter: Vajranābha was identified with Indradamana, and, furthermore, a surely quite striking portion of the Hv version, namely Pradyumna's cunning entry into the city of the Daityas and his secret meeting with Prabhāvatī, was taken up into the local tradition.

A further motive to be named for departures taken from the PaśP source text is the endeavor, particularly evident at the end of the Pradyumnottara chapter, to make the legend more Śaiva in nature. This same intention has already been established for the NepM version in its final, extant stage of redaction. Although the two versions are obviously independent elaborations of one and the same tradition, both texts conform to one another not only in having introduced a Śaiva prespective but also in the way in which this was done. In both texts Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu is, on the one hand, identified with Śiva and, on the other, represented as a worshiper of him. But one may again note a distinction between the two versions in the fact that in the NepM it is the identity between Viṣṇu and Śiva which is particularly emphasized, whereas in the HimKh, contrariwise, it is Viṣṇu's constant worship of Śiva.

Finally, in the HimKh there is one additional element of note, namely the making over of the Vāgmatī into a Śaiva river. The incorporation of the Vāgmatī mythology, originally Vaiṣṇava in character, into the Śaiva PaśP has been described above. As the PaśP text shows, the Śaivas were on the one hand at pains to bring the story of the Vāgvatī's origin (back?) into a Śaiva scheme of things, but allowed, on the other, the element of the freeing of the Vāgvatī to be more and more overshadowed in the Pradyumnavijaya legend by the representation of Pradyumna's double marriage and by the conflict between the gods and the Daityas. The NepM version and, as a whole, the HimKh version also follow this latter tendency. At the same time, however, the significance of the Vāgmatī for the Śaivas was once again stressed and exemplified especially in the HimKh version: The Vāgmatī is there identified with Pārvatī, and as such is able to make to Pradyumna the promise of invincibility and entry into Śiva's heaven.

PART II

The Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in the vernacular dramas of the late Malla period

General observations on the vernalucar dramas of the late Malla period

The literary sources of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend dealt with up to now have come from Paurāṇic Sanskrit works which absorbed and presented anew predominantly local traditions. In these works the model represented by the common Indian Paurāṇic tradition was obviously emulated, and that propagation and recognition even beyond local boundaries were strived for can be seen in the attempt to attach the HimKh and NepM onto the Skandapurāṇa, one of the eighteen Indian Mahāpurāṇas.

The vernacular dramas of the late Malla period to be dealt with in the following pages likewise belong to a Nepalese literary genre clearly influenced by India, in particular by the neighbouring state to the south, Mithilā. The foreign influence is already apparent from the fact that a large majority of these dramas are composed in Indian languages.

Although at the beginning of the present millennium Mithilā, with its occasional incursions into the territory of its northern neighbour, appears to have had a more harmful than beneficial effect upon the development of Nepalese culture,[187] from about the fourteenth century onward, when Mithilā itself came under Muslim sovereignty and many sought refuge in the north, there developed increasingly close ties between it and Nepal, including such as would bear fruit in the cultural sphere. The Nepal Valley, which apart from an apparently very brief invasion in the year 1349[188] was spared Islamic rule, became the sanctuary for political refugees, brahmans, pandits, men of letters etc., who, while coming from various parts of northern India, streamed by far in the largest numbers from the northeastern Indian regions of Bihar and Bengal.[189] A cultural flowering, fostered by the contemporary Malla kings of the Nepal Valley, came about under the influence of the immigrants and visitors, reaching its acme in the late Malla period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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[187] Cf. Slusser 1982, vol. 1, pp. 46f. and 56.

[188] Cf. Petech 1958, pp. 117-12o, 122; Dh. Vajrācārya 1966.

[189] Cf. Slusser 1982, vol. 1, pp. 65-68.

This development is particularly apparent in the field of dramatic literature: From the three kingdoms into which the Nepal Valley was divided in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there have been handed down far more than a hundred vernacular dramas in manuscript form. The sorting, editing and analysis of these dramas, which were composed mainly in Maithili, Bengali, Hindi and Newari, have just begun. Previous accounts,[190] little more than lists, give one an idea of the numbers and types of surviving texts, but they prove on closer inspection to be largely unreliable. Thus, for example, the secondary literature on the history of Nepalese drama is not always clear or accurate on the question in which language the individual dramas were written, all the more since native authors dealing with Maithili, Bengali, Hindi and Newari literary history have the tendency to claim as many Nepalese dramas as possible for their own language.

Be that as it may, it seems clear that the overwhelming majority of dramas are written in Maithili.[191] Next in order is a group of almost thirty Newari dramas.[192] Further, a small number of Bengali and Hindi dramas have been handed down.[193] And, finally, there are also dramas composed partly in Maithili and partly in Bengali,[194] and in which, furthermore, a literary hybrid language called 'Brajabuli'[195] is used. Sanskrit verses are scattered throughout many of these dramas, and in a number of them Sanskrit-Prakrit dialogues occur, particularly in the introductory scenes (appearance of the *sūtradhāra* and *naṭī*).[196] In all of the dramas I am acquainted with the stage directions are largely given in Newari and, to a lesser extent, in Sanskrit or Pseudo-Sanskrit.[197]

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[190] Apart from the more specialized accounts to be named later, mention may be made of the following: Bagchi 1928/29; D. R. Regmi 1965-66, vol. 2, pp. 849-854. Further, in the nāṭaka volume of the catalogue of the Bir Library (the present-day National Archives) of Kathmandu more than seventy drama titles from the late Malla period are named (Bṛhatsūcīpatra 1962/63, vol. 3, passim).

[191] The most comprehensive survey is offered in Jayakanta Mishra 1949, vol. 1, pp. 253-286 = "Maithili dramas in Nepal"; and in a revised form: 1976, pp. 143-163. Less comprehensive but more detailed is the account found in L. Mishra 1978, pp. 115-265. Mention might also be made of: Jayamanta Mishra 1978, pp. 52-66; Chaudhary 1976, pp. 101-113; Simha 'Mauna' 1972, pp. 55-76.

[192] While Satyamohan Jośī and Hemarāj Śākya still list forty-six Newari dramas (see the appendix of their text edition of the Newari drama Vikramacarita of Bhūpatīndramalla (1969/70, pp. 121-126), Kamal P. Malla has reduced this figure to twenty-six (1982, pp. 66-70).

[193] Up to now no comprehensive account of Bengali dramas from Nepal exists, and therefore further below I shall give somewhat more detailed references to literature on the subject (cf. p. 347). Hindi dramas from Nepal have, as far as I can tell, hitherto not been described.

Up to now only a few of these nāṭaka texts have been edited: one Maithili-Bengali,[198] seven Maithili,[199] three Bengali[200] and five Newari dramas[201] are known to me.

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[194] One example may be referred to: Hariçandranṛityam, ed. by A. Conrady, 1891.

[195] Cf. Sen 1935. While Sen dealt with Brajabuli literature from Bengal, Assam and Orissa but not from Nepal, the use of Brajabuli in Nepalese dramas of the late Malla period is discussed specifically in: Tivari 1960, pp. 13-18; and Tomar 1964, pp. 398-409.

[196] As is the case in Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, to be dealt with below.

[197] Cf. further below, pp. 166 ff.

[198] Cf. above fnt. 194.

[199] Nanigopal Banerji published three Maithili dramas (Vidyāvilāpa and Mahābhārata by Bhūpatīndramalla, and Kāmakandakalā by Raṇajinmalla) and one Bengali drama (see ftn. 200) in a book entitled Nepāle Bāṅgalā Nāṭaka (1916/17). Bhūpatīndramalla's Vidyāvilāpa was later re-edited by Jayakanta Mishra (1965). Bijitakumara Datta published in Prācīna Bāṅgālā-Maithilī Nāṭaka (1980) a Maithili drama (Muditakuvalayāśvanāṭaka by Vaṃśamaṇi) and a Bengali drama (see ftn. 200). Further individual editions: Jagajjyotirmalla's Kuñjavihārīnāṭaka, ed. by Bagchi, 1939/40; Jagajjyotirmalla's Haragaurīvivāhanāṭaka, ed. by R. Jha, 1970; Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, ed. by L. Mishra, 1972.

[200] Raṇajinmalla's Rāmacarita, ed. by N. Banerji (see ftn. 199); Gopīcandra Nāṭaka, ed. by T. Mukherji, 1970; Rāmabhadra's Lalitakuvalayāśvamadālasopākhyānaśivapārvatīmahimānāṭaka, ed. by B. Datta, 1980.

[201] Jayaprakāśamalla's Ratneśvaraprādurbhāva, ed. by P. B. Kasā, 1963/64; Bhūpatīndramalla's Vikramacarita, ed. by S. Jośī and H. Śākya, 1969/70; a fragment of Jayaprakāśamalla's Vīradhvajopākhyāna (1970/71); Raṇajinmalla's Madanacaritra, ed. by S. Vajrācārya, 1982/83; Raṇajinmalla's Kṛṣṇacaritra, ed. by S. Vajrācārya, 1982/83; and the same drama edited by Chatrabahādūra Kāyastha, 1982/83.

As the titles show, the material for the Nepalese dramas has been taken predominantly from the old Indian epic and Paurāṇic literature. This means that the plot line of the theme in question could often be presupposed to be known to both actors and audience. It is striking how spare, stereotyped and lacking in stylistic pretensions the prose dialogue, which contains the underlying plot of each play, is made to appear.[202] Obviously, then, the song texts, accompanied by music and dance, were the focus of interest, so that the dialogue sections, and hence the plot line, of the dramas were left in their shadow. August Conrady was therefore surely justified in designating the Hariścandranṛtya, which he edited, as a "Tanzspiel" ("dance play") or "Spieloper" ("dramatic opera");[203] and, correspondingly, Kamal P. Malla has again recently characterized the classical Newari dramas of the late Malla period as "operatic pieces," citing in support the firsthand account of the Capuchin monk Cassien, who visited Kathmandu around 1740 on his way to Tibet, leaving behind a description of staged drama, the following passage of which may be quoted, as reproduced by Malla:

> "The people of the country have the custom, at their festivals, of representing a story drawn from one of their sacred books or a satirical comedy. ... The actors of these comedies have very little recitative and much action, so that the principal actor does not recite eight or ten phrases in the different scenes in a comedy lasting two or three hours; but it is the choruses, which sing the whole, as in the Greek comedies. In each comedy, the Nepalese have at least two choruses, and the third is formed by the full chorus - that is to say by the two choruses together. ... And at the same time as the corus in singing, the actor, who dances constantly, fits the movements of his face, his feet and his hands to the meaning of the words they are singing."[204]

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[202] For a thoroughly representative example cf. the dialogue sections of the Pradyumnavijaya drama by Jagatprakāśamalla, the text of which has been edited and translated below as Appendix I of the present study.

[203] In the introduction of his text edition, p. 1.

[204] Taken from: Malla 1982, pp. 74-76; Malla cites as his source Alberto Managhi, "Relazione Inedita di un Viaggio des Padre Cassino Beligatti da Macerata (Prima meta del Secolo XVIII)," Rivista Geografica Italiana (December 8, 1901), pp. 621ff.

The libretto-like character of the surviving nāṭaka texts should be kept in mind when, especially with regard to their story line, the individual plays are examined in the following pages. On the other hand, these same investigations will show that in the plays to be discussed the plot of the traditional legends, in fact, has been worked over and modified, so that one is all the more justified, once due consideration has been given to the new literary genre, in viewing these dramas too as a further stage in the history of the development of a particular mythological narrative.

Among the material received from epic and Paurāṇic tradition into the Nepalese dramas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are noticeably many themes dealing with Kṛṣṇa, especially in the forms known from the Harivaṃśa and Bhāgavatapurāṇa. This does not, however, apply only to Nepalese drama. Consider briefly the relatively small number of Maithili plays not written in Nepal.: According to Jayakanta Mishra, from the two named centuries only six dramas are known from Mithilā itself, of which five have themes dealing with Kṛṣṇa.[205] The same applies to the Maithili dramas composed in Assam: Mishra names about twenty plays, and in almost all of them themes having to do with Kṛṣṇa again occur.[206] In the decidedly more extensive list of Maithili dramas from Nepal we find such titles as Kṛṣṇacaritra, Kṛṣṇajanman, Kṛṣṇakailāśayātrā, Kuñjavihārī, Rukmiṇīharaṇa, Pārijātaharaṇa, Kaṃsavadha, Kāliyamathanopākhyāna, Śambarāsurophākhyāna, Prabhāvatīharaṇa and Uṣāharaṇa; some of this dramatic stock has been adapted more than once.[207] A large majority of the themes named here appear to have been taken from the Harivaṃśa, and the Prabhāvatīharaṇa theme, which is naturally of particular interest in the context of the present study, is included therein.

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[205] Jayakanta Mishra 1976, pp. 167-189; the titles of the five Kṛṣṇa dramas are Ānandavijaya, Uṣāharaṇa, Pārijātaharaṇa, Rukmiṇīpariṇaya and Kṛṣṇakelimālā.

[206] Ibid., pp. 189-193.

[207] The Uṣāharaṇa theme appears especially frequently, it having been adapted by a total of seven authors: the Bhaktapur kings Jagajjyotirmalla, Nareśamalla, Jagatprakāśamalla, Jitāmitramalla, Bhūpatīndramalla and Raṇajinmalla as well as by the Patan king Viṣṇumalla.

Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

As far as I can see, two Maithili dramas with the title Prabhāvatīharaṇa have come down to us in manuscript form, and in both cases the title refers to the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend according to the Indian version known from the Hv:

- Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka is preserved in two manuscripts and has already been edited.[2o8]
- Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka has been handed down in one manuscript.[2o9]

A third drama with the same title, only a part of which, however, namely the text of Nārada's role in Bengali, has survived in manuscript form, follows the Nepalese tradition of the legend, and it will be discussed in detail below.

A fourth drama with the title Prabhāvatīharaṇa has been handed down in fragmentary form. It likewise adapts the Nepalese version of the legend, but no longer dates from the Malla period but from that of the Śāha dynasty. The Hindi songs of this drama were written by Pratāpasiṃha Śāha. This play will also briefly be dealt with further below.

Dilli R. Regmi mentions a further drama of the same title: "To Viṣṇumalla is attributed the authorship of Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka composed in NS 863."[21o] Unfortunately, no source is given, and neither an inquiry directed towards the said author nor an intensive search of my own has brought to light any further reference to this drama.

The citation of still another Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, however, which according to Kamal P. Malla[211] was written by Srīnivāsamalla and edited by Lekhanath Mishra, has turned out to be a simple error.

Finally, it may be briefly mentioned that a further Maithili drama with the title Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka is well known under the authorship of

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[2o8] More detailed bibliographical information follows below.

[2o9] More detailed bibliographical information follows below.

[21o] D. R. Regmi 1965-66, vol. 2, p. 853.

[211] Malla 1982, Bibliography p. viii.

Bhānunātha Daivajña, and it too has been edited;[212] this drama, again following the Indian version of the legend, was written in the second half of the nineteenth century in Mithilā, and for this reason need not be further considered.

Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

Jagatprakāśamalla lived from 1638 to 1672 and was king of Bhaktapur in the years 1643-1672,[213] meaning that already at five years of age he had taken over the office of this early deceased father, Nareśamalla. Although he himself likewise only lived to be thirty-four years old, he left behind a considerable number of poems and songs in Maithili[214] as well as several Maithili dramas.[215] His Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka was evidently one of his early works; a dated manuscript of this play is from the year 1656 A.D., when Jagatprakāśamalla was just eighteen years old.

A total of two manuscripts of Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka are known, both of which are stored in the National Archives in Kathmandu: One manuscript offers the complete text, both dialogue and songs, and is provided at the end with the date N.S. 776 āṣāḍha (June/ July 1656).[216] The second manuscript, in contrast, contains only the songs of

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212. It was published by Maheśa Śarmā in 1922 in Darbhanga. George A. Grierson mentioned it a number of times as a famous Maithili drama (cf. e.g. 1909, pp. xivf.), but Jayakanta Mishra (1949, pp. 347-349) called Bhānunātha "a second-rate dramatist" and passed the following judgment on his Prabhāvatīharaṇa: "It is not by any means to be considered as a great drama."

213. Cf. Paudel 1965, pp. 29-37; D. R. Regmi 1965-66, vol. 2, pp. 220-224.

214. Cf. Jayakanta Mishra 1976, pp. 134f. ("He was the most voluminous writer of Maithili lyrics in Nepal. His padas were distinguished by directness and simplicity and unadorned beauty", p. 134).

215. Ibid., p. 152.

216. It is listed in the National Archives in Kathmandu under the code number I-395 and is described in their Bṛhatsūcīpatra 1962/63, pt. 3: Nāṭaka, pp. 37f. This MS. has been filmed by the NGMPP under No. A 348/16.
At the end of the MS. (fol. 44a) the date is given in the following śloka:

nepālābde rasāśvāśve gaṇite kāmavāsare /
āṣāḍhe bahule pakṣe granthaḥ saṃpūrṇatām agāt //

the drama, it being, moreover, only fragmentarily preserved.[217] Lekhanath Mishra edited this drama in Patna in 1972 but made as the basis of his text edition only the first named, complete manuscript. Furthermore, a comparison of this manuscript with the text edition shows that the transcription of the text of the drama is often faulty or misleading.[218]

As for the contents of the drama, it has already been said that they follow not the Nepalese but the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. For this reason the play will be treated in the following pages only briefly.

The underlying story of the drama may be summarized in a rough fashion as follows:

Act I

After the customary prelude (*sūtradhāra-naṭī* scene) the three groups of persons figuring in the drama are introduced one after the other: first the Yādavas Kṛṣṇa, Pradyumna etc., then Indra and the heavenly geese, and finally the asuras Vajranābha, Prabhāvatī etc. Indra has undergone great suffering at the hands of Vajranābha and so sends the geese to Vajrapura in order to arrange a meeting between Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī with the hope that in the end Vajranābha will be killed by Pradyumna.

Act II

The geese arouse in Prabhāvatī a lover's desire for Pradyumna, and with her help bring it about that Vajranābha invites the dancer Bhadra to Vajrapura. Bhadra and the Yādavas, likewise dressed up as dancers, make their appearance and perform a scene from the Rāmāyaṇa. Afterwards Pradyumna flies secretly to Prabhāvatī in the form of a bee and enters into a Gāndharva marriage with her.

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[217] This *tyāsaphu* manuscript - the first two or three folios are missing - bears No. I-1696 in the National Archives in Kathmandu.

[218] Apart from many false akṣaras (eight to ten mistakes per side is not uncommon), entire sections of dialogue are at times missing. At various points it is clear that the editor has not understood the Newari stage directions; e.g. in fol. 12b of the MS is found the following instruction in Newari: *vajranābhana haṃsa āścaryana soya* (= "With astonishment Vajranābha catches sight of the geese");

Act III

The Yādavas Gada and Śāmba also secretly marry the asura girls Candrāvatī and Guṇavatī. Vajranābha visits his father, Kaśyapa, and asks him to consent to a *rājasūya* sacrifice, but he refuses to do so. After returning to Vajrapura, Vajranābha learns of the secret relations of the asura girls with the Yādavas. A battle ensues in which Vajranābha is slain by Pradyumna. Finally, the Yādavas return with their asura wives to Dvārakā.

The way in which the story is presented leaves the impression that the epic prototype of the Hv has been directly transposed onto the form of a drama. It is thus decidedly closer to the narrative style of the Hv than two older known Sanskrit dramas which are likewise clearly based on the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Hv, but which in their thematic treatment have freed themselves to a far greater extent from the epic source: Pradyumnābhyudaya, composed around 1300 A.D. by the Kerala king Ravivarman,[219] and Prabhāvatīpariṇaya, which was written by Harihara of Mithilā, likely in the first half of the seventeenth century.[220] Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka does not appear to stem from this drama tradition but directly from the Hv narrative.

The plot sequence of the Maithili drama corresponds quite closely to the Hv version, which has previously been described in brief. The only point of difference is the conflict between Indra and Vajranābha: In the present drama Vajranābha boasts at the very beginning of his first appearance on stage of having had his wishes fulfilled by Brahmā and thereupon of having conquered the three worlds.[221] This conforms to Indra's lament that he has undergone great suffering at the hands of Vajranābha, and so is

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Mishra, taking this sentence to be part of the Maithili dialogue between Vajranābha and the geese, reads: *Vajranābha--haṃsa! āścarya na soya* (p. 17)!

[219] The Pradyumnābhyudaya of Ravivarmabhūpa, ed. by T. G. Śāstri, 1910.

[220] Prabhāvatīpariṇaya of M. M. Harihara, ed. by R. Miśra, 1969. For the dating of Harihara's life cf. Ramanatha Jha in the preface to his edition of Harihara's Sūktimuktāvalī, 1949, pp. 16-18; Rāmacandra Miśra follows him in this in the previously mentioned edition of the Prabhāvatīpariṇaya, pp. 31f.

[221] *dela bara pitāmahe pāola hame / tehi bale jinala bhubana tini hame //* (fol. 9a of the MS. mentioned in ftn. 216).

setting everything upon being able to do in the asura with the help of the geese.[222] Later, in the third act, Vajranābha hopes to win over Kaśyapa to the idea of a *rājasūya* sacrifice, with the clear implication that this sacrifice will confirm Vajranābha as the undisputed ruler over the three worlds, and indeed Kaśyapa rejects the proposal with the argument that the sacrifice would not achieve its aim, since Indra is still a dangerous enemy of Vajranābha's.[223] Nowhere in the entire drama is it clearly stated what exactly has taken place between Indra and Vajranābha; but Vajranābha as the conqueror of the three worlds is certainly an innovation beyond the Hv version. One might be tempted to suspect in this an influence of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend according to, say, the HimKh version. But as far as I can see, this would be the only element in Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka taken from the Nepalese version of the legend. It is possible that this innovation is sufficiently explained merely as a simplification in the plot of the drama.

Nor do I see for the drama as a whole any evidence that its adoption of the Indian tradition is to be placed in the context of a conflict between the Nepalese and Indian versions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, with the Pan-Indian tradition supposedly being given preference to the regional one. It has already been pointed out above that a great many themes from the Maithili dramas of the late Malla period were taken specifically from the Hv, and it is likely due to the pull of this current that the Prabhāvatīharaṇa theme found entry into Nepalese literary history in conformity to the Hv prototype. In his younger years Jagatprakāśamalla was possibly not as well versed in his own Nepalese tradition as in the Indian one instilled in him, along with the use of Maithili as the literary idiom of the court, by teachers who were either Indian or at least oriented towards India.

It is noteworthy that Jagatprakāśamalla himself in later years wrote a second drama on the theme of Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī, and that on that occasion he was completely faithful to the Nepalese tradition.[224] One can fairly imagine what had occurred in between: The staging of Jagatprakāśamalla's early work Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka may well have had as a consequence the king's being instructed by native pandits on the local tradition of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, referring as it does specifically to the Nepal Valley. This may have finally incited Jagatprakāśamalla, fully conscious of what he was doing, to give in his later years the local tradition of the legend its due alongside the Indian version.

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[222] *hama saba dukha dela bajranābha asure / katane jatane haṃsi pathāe kahu ekara jība karaba dūre //* (fol. 8b).

[223] *vajranābha: he tāta! ihāka prasāde sakala pūrṇa bhela, ihāka ājñā hoya to rājasūya jajña kariya.*
kaśyapa: he putra! janu karaha, saṃpanna nahi hoyata; indra baḍa toharā bairī. tvarāya ghara jāha. (fol. 35a-b; the MS. has *jāgha* in place of *jāha*.

This obviously did not prevent, in any case, Jagatprakāśamalla's grandson Bhūpatīndramalla from writing a second drama with the title Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, which again follows in its entirety the Indian tradition of the legend and shows strong parallels to the homonymous drama of his grandfather's just discussed.

Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

Bhūpatīndramalla was born in N.S. 795 kārtika (Oct./Nov. 1674), crowned king in N.S. 816 bhādra (Aug./Sept. 1696) and died in N.S. 842 vaiśākha (April/May 1722).[225] To him, too, we owe several collections of songs;[226] but Bhūpatīndramalla was especially productive as a composer of drama: According to the most recent scholarship twenty-six Maithili and four Newari plays as well as one in Sanskrit are at present known to be by him.[227]

A manuscript of his Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka is located in the National Archives in Kathmandu and has also been filmed by the NGMPP.[228] The manuscript does not contain any date. The sole piece of chronological evidence for it is the reference, contained in the prelude to the drama proper, that it was performed on the occasion of the hair-cutting ceremony of Bhūpatīndramalla's son.[229] As far as I can see, Bhūpatīndramalla is still thought to have had only one son, Raṇajinmalla, his successor to the throne, who was born in N.S. 823 mārgaśira (Nov./Dec. 1702).[230] There is a further surviving play by Bhūpatīndramalla which was likewise performed on the occasion of the hair-cutting ceremony of his son,[231] the manuscript of which bears at the end the date N.S. 833 śrāvaṇa (July/Aug. 1713). This may very well have been the hair-cutting ceremony for Raṇajinmalla.[232] Two possibilities, in any case, present themselves regarding Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka: Either Bhūpatīndramalla wrote and had performed two play for one and the same occasion; in that case the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka would also have to be dated to the year 1713. Otherwise we have a second son to reckon with; then the question of the play's date is once again open.

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[224] This drama will be introduced and discussed in detail below.

[225] Cf. Paudel, April/May 1966; D. R. Regmi 1965-66, vol. 2, pp. 235-244.

[226] Cf. Mishra 1976, p. 137.

[227] Yadav/Jha 1982.

[228] This MS. is catalogued in the National Archives under the number IV-939, and it has been filmed by the NGMPP under No. A 348/2.

It has already been said with regard to the contents of the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka that the play is closely related to that of the same title by Jagatprakāśamalla, and thus by and large likewise follows the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. The correspondences between the two plays include the underlying story, which unfolds in a largely parallel manner in both plays, and occasionally fairly lengthy passages agreeing word for word in the dialogue sections of the two plays. Without a doubt, Bhūpatīndramalla used his grandfather's play as a prototype, in part adhering closely to it, but also in part bringing additions and improvements into his revision of the theme, and writing, naturally, new songs for the familiar drama - this latter surely his particular concern.

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[229] In the MS. mentioned in ftn. 228: ... *śrīśrīrājakumārakacūḍākaraṇamahotsave* ... (fol. 2b; a second time almost identically in fol. 4a).

[230] Cf. Paudel April/May 1966, p. 28; D. R. Regmi, 1965-66, vol. 2, p. 237.

[231] In Bhūpatīndramalla's Paraśurāmopākhyānanāṭaka, the only known manuscript of which was filmed by the NGMPP from a private collection in Kathmandu under serial code E 1199/4, reference is made in the first scene, in a way very similar to the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, to the fact that the play had been written for the occasion of the hair-cutting ceremony of Bhūpatīndramalla's son (... *svatanayaśrīśrīrājakumārasya cūḍākaraṇamahotsava-* ..., fol. 2b).

[232] This ceremony would then have taken place in Raṇajinmalla's eleventh year, an age which, while no longer corresponding to the rules of the old Dharmaśāstra literature (three is the prescribed age: cf. Kane 1974, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 260), is nevertheless quite in keeping with the customs in Nepal during the Malla period. Thus, for example, Bhūpatīndramalla's own hair-cutting ceremony is documented as having occurred at age ten (cf. Cundā Vajrācārya 1984/85, p. 7).
According to a Buddhist work widely circulated in Nepal (upwards of ten Mss. of it having been filmed by the NGMPP), the Mañjuśrīpārājikā, the hair-cutting ceremony is supposed to be performed in the age bracket of from seven to twelve (cf. Badri Ratna and Ratna Kaji Bajracharya 1970, p. 229).

In the context of the present study it is not so much the new songs as rather the changes and additions to the plot sequence which are of interest. A simple outward comparison of the number of acts and scenes in the two plays makes it clear to what extent Bhūpatīndramalla elaborated upon the Prabhāvatīharaṇa theme in comparison to his prototype: Whereas Jagatprakāśamalla made do in his drama with three acts and a total of seventeen scenes, Bhūpatīndramalla's revision of the material boasts of more than thirty scenes[233] divided into four acts. Among the differences in content one may again point to the handling of the conflict between Indra and Vajranābha, which, as was shown above, is not sharply delineated in Jagatprakāśamalla's play, and which in Bhūpatīndramalla's, on the contrary, is presented with clarity and in detail.

In the whole of Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka Indra comes on stage one single time, fairly near the beginning of the first act, and in what follows there is only one concrete reference to him again, namely in Kaśyapa's statement that for Vajranābha Indra is still a dangerous enemy. Bhūpatīndramalla, in contrast, in a scene added to the first act, represents in great detail the conflict between Indra and Vajranābha, and he has the former appear on stage a number of times in the further course of the play. In the scene added to the first act the following events are portrayed:[234]

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[233] The exact figure is not entirely clear, as the numeration in the MS. is muddled in a number of places.

[234] Act I, scene 6; fols. 12b-14a.

> The gods hold a meeting, conducted by Indra, in Amarāvatī. Vajranābha and other Daityas suddenly appear and challenge the gods either to give up Amarāvatī or to prepare to fight for it. The gods refuse to turn it over; a battle ensues in which the gods are worsted and finally forced to flee. Vajranābha thereupon has Amarāvatī plundered and returns with his newly won booty to Vajrapura.

This scene illustrates why Vajranābha can claim to be the conqueror of the three worlds and what the suffering was Indra underwent at his hands. The sequence of action in this scene is surely more similar to that of the Nepalese Indradamana-Indra episode than to the description of the conflict between Indra and Vajranābha in the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Hv, and it is for this reason that I suspect that the scene in question took form under the influence of the Nepalese tradition of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. This may apply also in part to the further appearances on stage of Indra in Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka:

- After Pradyumna's and Prabhāvatī's Gāndharva marriage the heavenly geese report to Indra that they have successfully carried out their mission.[235]
- As the confrontation between Pradyumna and Vajranābha approaches, Indra along with the other gods determines to witness the battle from a vantage point in the sky.[236]
- After Vajranābha has been killed, Indra offers his thanks in a brief *stuti* to Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu for having saved him.[237]

Indra as witness to the battle between Pradyumna and the Daitya king is found both in the Hv version as well as in all discussed versions of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, but Indra's words of thanks to Kṛṣṇa appear only in the Nepalese version of the legend. Even though a dependence of the Indra scenes in Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka upon the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī tradition cannot be conclusively proven, it appears at least probable, all the more as one may assume that Bhūpatīndramalla must have known about the existence of the local legend of the Nepal Valley through the second play of his grandfather Jagatprakāśamalla, to be discussed below. If this assumption is correct, then in the present drama by Bhūpatīndramalla we would have the converse case to the previously discussed Pradyumottara chapter of the HimKh, in that the play, while by and large following the prototype of the Indian version of the legend and at the same time elaborating upon it, has, on the other hand, taken over and worked in elements of the corresponding Nepalese tradition.

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[235] Act III, scene 24; fols. 40a-41a.

[236] Act IV, scene 24 (!); fols. 50a-b.

[237] Act IV, scene 29; fols. 56b-57a.

The two Maithili dramas discussed up to now, although following the Indian tradition of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend largely to the neglect of Nepal's own regional tradition, still must be viewed as a part of Nepal's literary history. In these dramas, more than is the case in other dramatic material borrowed from India with no 'competing' parallels in Nepalese tradition, it becomes clear to what extent the educated court society of the late Malla period was oriented towards India. Though the actors themselves received their instructions in the local language of Newari, the educated public was offered subjects from common Indian mythology performed in Indian languages, even in cases where a native tradition existed alongside the Indian myth.

In the context of the present study the taking up and refashioning of the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, at first by Jagatprakāśamalla and then again later by his grandson Bhūpatīndramalla, are of interest not only as a witness to the inroads made by Indian intellectual life into Nepalese cultural, and in particular literary, history, but it may also be presumed that this adoption of the Indian version of the legend helped spark a revived interest in the local tradition of the myth and a rebirth of the local parallel version of it. It has already been said that in his later years Jagatprakāśamalla himself wrote a second play around the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī theme, adhering thereby strictly to the Nepalese Paurāṇic tradition; one may also add that a fragment of a play in Bengali has been preserved, written in 1707 as the first work of the Patan king Indramalla, which likewise follows the Nepalese version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. In the case of the second play by Jagatprakāśamalla there can hardly be any doubt that the play's author consciously intended to set a local version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend at the side of, or even in opposition to, his previously composed Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, thus obviously hoping to give Nepal's regional tradition again its due, it being a matter of speculation whether he acted out of, say, a late-blooming personal interest in the local tradition or for reasons of state. Even the 1707 play by King Indramalla may well have been a further reaction to Jagatprakāśamalla's having taken up the Indian legend, all the more since Indramalla's play is likewise entitled Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka.

Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka

The manuscript of the play by Jagatprakāśamalla now to be discussed, an adaptation, as has been said, of the Nepalese version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend and so a faithful reflection of Nepal's local Paurāṇic tradition, is located in Kathmandu under private ownership and has been filmed by the NGMPP under the serial code G 64/19. The title of the play is stated by the theater director (*sūtradhāra*)[238] in the opening scene: Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka.[239] This title offers the first clear indication of the sources the plot of the play is based on: As will be shown in detail in the following pages, the play at hand follows predominantly the two Pradyumnavijaya chapters of the PaśP and NepM.

Jagatprakāśamalla wrote this play more than ten years after his early work adapted from the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka. In the opening (*sūtradhāra-naṭī*) scene of the play Pradyumnavijaya, along with the titel of the play, the occasion for which the drama was to be performed is mentioned: the hair-cutting ceremony (*cūḍākaraṇa*) of Jagatprakāśamalla's second son.[240] The known sons of Jagatprakāśamalla are Jitāmitramalla, the oldest son and in 1673 successor to the throne, and his younger brother, Ugramalla. Without a doubt, Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijaya was written and performed for the occasion of Ugramalla's tonsure ceremony. Happily, the date of this ceremony has been preserved in a Newari diary (*thyāsaphu*): Ugramalla's hair-cutting ceremony occurred, according to it, in the month of jyeṣṭha in N.S. 786 (= May/June 1666).[241] This date in turn accords well with a certain peculiarity in the bhaṇitās[242] of the songs of the Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka, in which the name Candraśekharasiṃha is regularly mentioned along with that of the author, Jagatprakāśamalla.

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[238] The vernacular plays of the late Malla period developed a stereotyped form for the opening (*sūtradhāra-naṭī*) scene, which contained the following elements: *nāndī* - *puṣpāñjali*- announcement of the name of the play and often its (ceremonious) occasion - description of the king (*rājavarṇanā*) - description of the country (*deśavarṇanā*).

[239] A fragmentary manuscript of a Maithili play by Bhūpālendramalla (king of Kathmandu from 1687-1700), filmed by the NGMPP under No. E 145/6, is likewise entitled Pradyumnavijaya (fol. 2a), or Harisutavijaya (fol. 3a), but instead it is an adaptation of the story of Pradyumna and Śambara.

[240] ... *jagatprakāśamalla debaka dvasara rājakumāraka cūḍākaraṇa* ... (fol. 2b)

Candraśekharasiṃha was evidently a high official at the court of Jagatprakāśamalla and a good friend of the king. From 166o on his name is found mentioned recurrently in inscriptions and, more especially, in song collections and several plays by Jagatprakāśamalla.[243] The earliest mention of Candraśekharasiṃha is found in a song collection (*gītāvalī*) from the year 166o,[244] and he next appears in the year 1662 in a coin together with Jagatprakāśamalla.[245] According to the testimony of an (undated) elegaic song cycle by Jagatprakāśamalla on the theme *candraśekharaviyoga,*[246] Candraśekhara died in the month of jyeṣṭha in N.S. 782 (= May/June 1662).[247] In this song cycle Jagatprakāśamalla's extraordinarily strong attraction towards Candraśekharasiṃha finds eloquent expression. Jagatprakāśamalla, obviously, could not for many years get over the death of his friend. In the play of present concern, Pradyumnavijaya, which was written for an event that took place four years after Candraśekharasiṃha's death, the love for Candraśekharasiṃha and the sorrow at the loss of the friend is still given expression in many bhaṇitās. In one bhaṇitā, as a matter of fact, namely that of the rājavarṇanā of this play, a blend of the two names even occurs, Jagatprakāśamalla there calling himself *jagatacanda*! Jagatprakāśamalla uses this blend again later, in an inscription from the year 1669: *jagaccanda duhu eka hi* ("Jagaccandra, [although] two [persons], is only one"),[248] and in the later drama Madanacaritranāṭaka, which Jagatprakāśamalla wrote in the year 1670 on the occasion of the upanayana ceremony of his son Ugramalla,[249] the blend *jagatacanda* occurs almost universally in the bhaṇitās.

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[241] Aitihāsikaghaṭanāvalī 1963, p. 1; cf. also Paudel 1965, p. 33, and D. R. Regmi 1965-66, vol. 2, p. 86.

[242] In the vernacular Nepalese plays of the late Malla period it was customary, on the model of early Maithili literature from the times of Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati, for the composers of the songs to identify themselves as such at the end of each of them, in the so-called *bhaṇitā* (or *bhanitā*). In the two previously discussed plays for instance, the names of the author-kings Jagatprakāśamalla and Bhūpatīndramalla regularly appear in the *bhaṇitās* of the songs.

[243] In research done recently on Candraśekharasiṃha the historical source material has yet to be taken comprehensively into account. In his otherwise quite reliable study of Jagatprakāśamalla and Candraśekharasiṃha, Bholanath Paudel has seen fit to consult only in part the Maithili sources (Paudel Jan./Feb. 1966, pp. 2o25). Conversely, Jayakanta Mishra (1976, pp. 135f.) has relied almost exclusively upon Maithili sources, and so, since evidently unaware of those used in Paudel's study, has reached different results.

[244] Cf. Paudel, ibid., p. 21. The manuscript is located in the National Archives in Kathmandu under the catalogue number V-3154, and has been filmed by the NGMPP under No. B 285/19; Candraśekharasiṃha is mentioned only twice in the Gītāvalī (fols. 4a and 15a.).

[245] Cf. D. R. Regmi 1965-66, vol. 2, p. 222 and 1o4o (coin no. 35); Paudel, ibid., pp. 2of.

The text of Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka is reproduced and translated in its entirety in Appendix I. A detailed survey of contents is for this reason here superfluous, but a brief summary of the plot of the three acts with a total of twenty-five scenes (Newari: lu) should prove useful prior to taking up in detail the question of the precise sources of the drama and the way they were assimilated into it.

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246. Two manuscripts of this song collection, with the title Gītapañcaka, are located in the National Archives in Kathmandu under No. I-357; they have been filmed by the NGMPP under the serial code B 285/21 and 22.

247. Cf. the second Maithili song of the Gītapañcaka (fol. 2a-b in the film B 285/21; cf. ftn. 246).

248. Cf. Paudel Jan./Feb. 1966, p. 23.

249. Jagataprakāśamalla's Madanacaritranāṭaka, the manuscript of which bears the date N.S. 790 śrāvaṇa (July/Aug. 1670), was performed on the occasion of Ugramalla's upanayana ceremony: ... *jagatprakāśamallakṛtam kaniṣṭhaputraśrīśrī-ugramallasya upanayanasyārtha[ṃ] madananāṭakaṃ* ... (fol. 46b). The manuscript has been filmed by the NGMPP under the code number C 28/14.

ACT I

lu 1	Entrance on stage of the *sūtradhāra* and *naṭī*.
lu 2	The Yādavas Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Pradyumna etc. introduce themselves one by one.
lu 3	*kṛṣṇavarṇanā*
lu 4	The Daityas Mahendradamana, Kacchapa, Śaṅkha etc. as well as their teacher Śukra introduce themselves one by one. Mahendradamana sets off on a tīrtha pilgrimage to Rudradhārā to engage in ascetic practices.
lu 5	*śṛṅgāra* scene with Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā.
lu 6	Prabhāvatī and her female friends introduce themselves one by one.
lu 7	Mahendradamana practices religious austerities. Brahmā and his sons introduce themselves one by one.
lu 8	Brahmā fulfills Mahendradamana's wish to be invulnerable to the weapons of the three worlds.
lu 9	Śukra consecrates Mahendradamana as king over the three worlds.

ACT II

	(continuation of lu 9) The Daityas worship Parameśvarī. Prabhāvatī intends to worship Gaurī in order to obtain a husband.
lu 10	Nārada and his student introduce themselves. Nārada hopes to induce Mahendradamana to steal Kṛṣṇa's *drāḍhāmaṇi*.
lu 11	Sūryaketu, his wife, his daughter Candrāvatī and his retinue introduce themselves one by one.
lu 12	Sūryaketu etc. bathe in the Vāgmatī. Kravyāda comes upon the beautiful Candrāvatī and determines to recommend her to Mahendradamana.
lu 13	Prabhāvatī is promised Pradyumna as a husband by Gaurī.
lu 14	*śṛṅgāra* scene between Sūryaketu and his wives.
lu 15	Mahendradamana charges Kravyāda with the task of wooing Candrāvatī for him. Nārada visits Mahendradamana. They come to talk of Kṛṣṇa, and Mahendradamana expresses the desire to take revenge on Pradyumna for the slaying of Śambara. Nārada counsels him to steal Kṛṣṇa's jewel first.
lu 16	Mahendradamana steals the jewel, thereby causing consternation in Dvārikā.

lu 17 Mahendradamana takes the jewel to Suprabhā and orders the Vāgmatī to be dammed up and a park laid out for Prabhāvatī. Kacchapa, furthermore, is told to keep the jewel in his custody. A *śṛṅgāra* scene between Mahendradamana and his wife.

lu 18 Śaṅkha and Kacchapa dam up the Vāgmatī. Śaṅkha assumes the job of guarding the dam, and Kacchapa takes up quarters in the lake.

lu 19 Kravyāda asks for the hand of Candrāvatī on behalf of Mahendradamana; Sūryaketu promises to give him his daughter at some later time. Sūryaketu unveils his anguish to Nārada. Nārada consoles him: Pradyumna will marry Prabhāvatī and Candrāvatī and kill Mahendradamana.

lu 2o Prabhāvatī and her female friends bathe in Vāgmatī Lake.

Act III

(continuation of lu 2o) Nārada informs Prabhāvatī that he will bring Pradyumna to her.

lu 21 Kṛṣṇa finds out that Mahendradamana was the one who stole his jewel. Nārada asks Kṛṣṇa to let Pradyumna go with him to Nepal. Kṛṣṇa decides to accompany them there.

lu 22 Nārada takes Pradyumna to Prabhāvatī. He recommends a Gāndharva marriage. Marriage and *śṛṅgāra* scene. The appearance on stage of a *prahāsikā*. Nārada rouses Pradyumna to battle against the Daityas. Prabhāvatī's benediction for Pradyumna's victory.

lu 23 Pradyumna defeats Śaṅkha and then Mahendradamana.

Kṛṣṇa frees the Vāgmatī. Pradyumna defeats Kacchapa. The departure for Mṛgendraśikhara.

lu 24 Pradyumna's and Candrāvatī's marriage. Kṛṣṇa sets off to worship Paśupati and Kumārī. *śṛṅgāra* scene between Pradyumna and his wives.

lu 25 Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā await Kṛṣṇa and the others. Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna pay homage to Paśupati and Kumārī and then return to Dvārikā. The worship of Śiva.

The benediction for Jagatprakāśamalla and his family.

As one may to a certain extent already gather from this summary of the contents, apart from the text passages specifically furthering the underlying story the Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka contains a large number of elements which have nothing to do directly with the actual flow of events but only serve to structure the particular genre of drama, or dance-opera. Before, therefore, discussing the plot sequence of the play and latter's relation to the sources of the dramatic material, we shall first single out those elements which are primarily concerned with giving dramatic form to the play. As a rough classification, these text elements consist on the one hand of individually interspersed scenes or sub-scenes, and, on the other, cum grano salis, of all the Maithili songs of the play.

1. The scenes and sub-scenes just referred to are:

- The *sūtradhāra-naṭī* scene (lu 1);
- the scenes and sub-scenes of introduction (lu 2, 4, 6, 7, 10 and 11), in which in principle all actors introduce themselves individually, with one Sanskrit verse each, in the roles they have assumed;[250]
- the *śṛṅgāra* scenes in lu 5, 14 and 17;[251] the two other *sṛṅgāra* scenes between Pradyumna and his wives in lu 22 and 24 should probably, on the contrary, be viewed as extensions of the dramatic action;
- the *kṛṣṇavarṇanā* scene"[252]
- the appearance of the farceuse (*prahāsikā*) in lu 22;

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[250] The introduction of characters having a role in the play is not totally consistent: In lu 2 Garuḍa is missing, even though in lu 21 (fol. 40b) and 23 (fol. 50b) he enters the action; Kravyāda, who makes appearances in lu 12 (fols. 22b-23a), lu 15 (fols. 26b-27b) and lu 19 (fols. 33a-34a), fails to be introduced in lu 4; and in lu 13 Gaurī and her followers, Jayā and Vijayā, come on stage without having previously been introduced, whereas Brahmā, Sanaka and Sanātana, for example, introduce themselves in lu 7. Conversely, in the Sūryaketu group in lu 11 a *koṭabāra* is introduced, never to appear again in the entire play.

[251] On the dramatic function of these three *śṛṅgāra* scenes cf. below ftn. 256.

[252] The departure of Pradyumna etc. portrayed in the second part of lu 3 merely prepares for the *śṛṅgāra* scene (lu 5), where Kṛṣṇa appears, accompanied only by Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā.

- the brief humorous interludes of Nārada's student Bahvāśin (= 'glutton') in lu 19, 2o and 22;
- and, finally, the benediction of Jagatprakāśamalla and his family rounding off the play (lu 25).

2. The songs of the play:

- Almost half of all songs are entrance and exit songs. Among entrances the distinction is made between *praveśa* and *paisāra*;[253] *praveśa* occurs in scenes of introduction, and the songs associated with it contain the first pieces of information concerning the particular groups making their entrance; *paisāra* and *nissāra* songs, on the other hand, do not as a rule go beyond in content what has already been expressed in the respective prose context.[254]
- In conformity to the former tradition of Indian drama a group of songs serves to generate certain moods (*rasa*) in the audience. In the text *śṛṅgāra* (in the above-mentioned *śṛṅgāra* scenes), *bhayānaka* (fol. 24a), *karuṇa* (fols. 48b-49a) and *bībhatsa* (fol. 5ob) are explicitly named. Also presumably meant to be induced are, furthermore, *hāsyarasa* in the *prahāsikā*'s song (fol. 45a), once again *karuṇarasa* in Sūryaketu's song of *duḥkha* (fol. 34a) and Prabhāvatī's *viraha* song (fol. 41a-b), and *vīrarasa*, or *raudrarasa*, in the battle songs (fols. 47a-48b and 5oa-b).
- Songs of praise sung to Kṛṣṇa (fols. 7a-b and 52b), Śiva (fols, 13a-b and 57a-b) and Parameśvarī (fols. 18b and 24a).
- Certain events are provided a background of song: the king's enthronement (fols. 17a-b), bathing in the Vāgmatī (fol. 22b) or in Vāgmatī Lake (fol. 36b), the damming up of the Vāgmatī (fol. 32b) and the marriage (fols. 53a-b).
- The two pairs of *daṇḍaka* songs[255] between Kravyāda and Sūryaketu

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253. For further information cf. below in the introduction to the text of the Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka (Appendix I, p. 167 f.)

254. But there are exceptions: At the end of lu 9 (fols. 18b-19a) Prabhāvatī states in the prose dialogue only that she intends to worship Gaurī, whereas in the song there is the additional suggestion that her purpose is to obtain a husband.

255. *daṇḍaka* appears here to be a term from dramaturgy; I have come across it in a number of Maithili plays, where it regularly designates a dialogue sung between two people.

(fols. 33a-b) and between Nārada and Prabhāvatī (fols. 37b-38a) come closest formally to dialogue, but the contents of these songs too are repeated in the prose dialogues which follow.

The songs may be sorted as a whole into two groups: The one group of songs takes up elements of the stage action and acts as a musical setting for them, without, however, overstepping in content the particular prose context; the other group touches upon more general contents, which are only loosely connected with the individual context and concrete plot of the play.

The story line of the play

If one sets aside the Maithili songs and the above-mentioned scenes serving primarily dramaturgical purposes, then the remaining dialogue passages represent the underlying story of the play.

The first act consists predominantly of scenes of introduction and offers little in the way of forward-moving action. The concern here rather is primarily to establish a background situation, one defined by the following conflict-laden contrast: On the one hand, the Yādava's idyllic setting is portrayed, in which Pradyumna and his companions amuse themselves at the seaside and Kṛṣṇa gives himself over to the carefree delights of love-making with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāma.[256] In the Daitya camp, on the other hand, all is action: Mahendradamana pursues and obtains sovereignty over the three worlds. This state of affairs already contains the seeds of conflict.

In the second act the Daityas and the Yādavas are set on their well-known collision course with one another:

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[256] The *śṛṅgāra* scene in lu 5 has a dramatic function, and this is also true of two other *śṛṅgāra* scenes (lu 14 and 17): The persons concerned are represented in each case as being carefree and unconscious of the looming threat which the audience has already become privy to. In lu 5 Kṛṣṇa has no premonition of the activities directed by the Daityas, in the last analysis, also against him; in lu 14 Sūryaketu does not yet know of the trouble coming his way in the person of Mahendradamana; and in lu 17 Mahendradamana's behavior shows that he is unconscious of the danger threatening him from the Yādavas. The two *śṛṅgāra* scenes with Pradyumna (in lu 22 and 24), on the other hand, must be seen in a different light (cf. above p.132).

(A) In lu 9, 13 and 2o the move towards a kinship between the Yādavas and Daityas is initiated by Gaurī's promise to Prabhāvatī to make Pradyumna her husband.

(B) In lu 1o and 15-17, in contrast, Mahendradamana lets himself be misled by Nārada into stealing Kṛṣṇa's *drāḍhāmaṇi* from Dvārikā in order to weaken him for future attacks.

In chains of action running parallel to this two further conflicts develop, which are again due to the activities of the Daityas, and which are resolved later, in the third act, by the Yādavas:

(C) In lu 11-12, 14-15 and 19 Mahendradamana seeks through the agency of Kravyāda the hand of Candrāvatī, plunging Sūryaketu into despair until Nārada promises him to support of Pradyumna.

(D) In lu 17 and 18 Mahendradamana has the Vāgmatī dammed up, the latter to be freed by Kṛṣṇa in the third act.

The formal meshing of the above-mentioned chains of action A-D in the second act of the play may be seen from the following table:

lu	9	1o	11,12	13	14,15	15-17	17,18	19	2o
	A	B	C	A	C	B	D	C	A

This tabular meshing reflects the thematic complexity of the growing entanglements between the Daityas on the one hand and the various groups harassed by them on the other. This multi-stranded plot sequence was surely already in part present in the Paurāṇic sources of the drama (and resulted to a certain degree, as was shown above, from the historical process of its growth), but its effect has been heightened by the author of the play through the expedient of combining various thematic elements from the NepM and PaśP versions of the Pradyumnavijaya.[257]

If the second act is given over to the activities of the Daityas, the third act is entirely dominated by the reprisals taken by the Yādavas. In the tow of these actions of the Yādavas the conflicts, which have already fanned out into separate chains of the plot, are taken up one by one and resolved: Pradyumna secretly marries Prabhāvatī and kills the Daityas Mahendradamana etc.; as a result Kṛṣṇa wins back his jewel, the Vāgmatī is freed by Kṛṣṇa and, finally, Pradyumna marries Candrāvatī.

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[257] Cf. further below.

The sources of the play:

It is quite certain that Jagatprakāśamalla relied upon at least two Paurāṇic sources from Nepal in composing his Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka, namely the two versions of the Pradyumnavijaya in the PaśP and the NepM, described above in detail. Whether Jagatprakāśamalla in addition knew and drew upon the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh cannot be said for sure, but the possibility cannot be excluded. In any case, as far as I can tell, there is not one single indication in the entire play providing clear and conclusive evidence for the HimKh version's having been a source.

The first act:

As has already been said, the first act of the play largely contains elements arising out of the formal nature of drama, and for these one need not postulate Paurāṇic sources. Still, in the first act there is a detailed account of how, by his worship of Śiva, Mahendradamana finally obtained from Brahmā the power of being invulnerable to weapons of the three worlds (lu 4 and 7-8), and how following that he let himself be set up as the ruler over the three worlds (lu 9). This series of events has obviously been taken from the Indradamana-Indra episode, which was inserted into all three of the Paurāṇic versions as a flashback, and which was not taken up as such into the play. Which of the three Indradamana-Indra texts in particular Jagatprakāśamalla relied upon cannot be clearly discerned, especially as the version of the play differs at two decisive points from all three Paurāṇic texts:

- In all three Paurāṇic versions the Daitya had his wish fulfilled by Brahmā to be ever unvanquished by the gods, and in the HimKh the subjugation of the three worlds is tacked on.[258] In the play, in contrast, it is the power of being invulnerable to the weapons of the three worlds that Mahendradamana obtains. In conformity with this is the fact that in the third act Pradyumna must kill him without the aid of weapons, with, that is, merely his bare fist (scene 23). This latter detail, however, was already existent in two Paurāṇic versions,[259] and for this reason the wish Brahmā grants in the play must be judged to be a conscious leveling and, in effect, a regularization of content.

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[258] NepM VIII,79-82; PaśP XI,21-24; HimKh 166,47-48.

- In all three Paurāṇic versions, following the fulfillment of the wish Śukra invests Indradamana with regal authority at first only over the Daityas,[26o] and it is only from this base of power that he later undertakes to conquer the three worlds, in each case starting by doing battle with Indra. In the play, in contrast, it is as king over the three worlds that Śukra consecrates Mahendradamana immediately after the fulfillment of the wish.

The second act:

The second act begins in lu 9 with an offering of thanks by the Daityas to Umā; this sub-scene has no precedent in any of the three Paurāṇic versions.

Prabhāvatī's worship of Gaurī, signaled in lu 9 and depicted in lu 13, is evidently based on the corresponding portrayal in NepM VIII, 4c-8. Likewise deriving from the NepM version are the scenes and sub-scenes in which Kravyāda at first comes across Candrāvatī (lu 12), then recommends her to Mahendradamana (lu 15), and finally woos her on his behalf (lu 19). Sūryaketu's ensuing lament, in which he mentions his flight from Śvetakā (lu 19, fol. 34a), as well as Nārada's elucidation that Sūryaketu has been driven from his kingdom by King Haṃsadhvaja (fol. 34b) both point clearly to the prototype of the NepM. Nārada's words of solace to Sūryaketu that Pradyumna will marry Prabhāvatī and Candrāvatī and slay Mahendradamana (fol. 35a-b) go for their part a step beyond the NepM version, in which Nārada has merely suggested that Candrāvatī be married to Pradyumna (NepM VIII,41-42), and they must be taken to be a refinement in content.

On the other hand, those scenes and sub-scenes of the second act dealing with the theft of Kṛṣṇa's *drāḍhāmaṇi* (lu 1o and 15-16), come undoubtedly from the PaśP version. The term *drāḍhāmani*, which in the end derives from *daṃṣṭrā-(ratna)* in PaśP VIII,21,[261] was perhaps not properly understood by Jagatprakāśamalla. Further of note is the fact that Mahendradamana's question to Nārada in lu 15 concerning the identity of a blue jewel flying through the air on top of a golden mountain (fol. 27b) has been taken from PaśP VIII,9ff., even though it no longer has any place in the play, there being no mention of a previous visit by Kṛṣṇa to Nepal. Scenes 17 and 18, too, i.e. the damming up of the Vāgmatī and the appointing of Śaṅkha as guard of the dam and Kacchapa as protector of the stolen jewel, are as a whole likely to have had their origins in the PaśP version.

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[259] NepM X,56-58 and PaśP XIII,33-35.

[26o] NepM VIII,82-83; PaśP XI,25-26; HimKh 166,5o.

The third act:

In the third act Jagatprakāśamalla adhered closely in scenes 2o-23 to the Pradyumnavijaya version of the NepM. In two places in lu 22 verses have even been cited from the NepM: NepM IX,31 in fol. 41b and NepM IX,61-62 in fol. 42b.

The only exception is the beginning of lu 21, where Kṛṣṇa recognizes that Mahendradamana has stolen his jewel, evidently based on PaśP IX,11-12. Furthermore, the jewel recovered from Kacchapa's belly is identified in the play (lu 23, fol. 5oa), as in HimKh 181,26, with Kṛṣṇa's *drāḍhāmaṇi* (in the HimKh: *kaustubha*).[262]

In the last part of the play (lu 24 and 25) the author allows himself greater freedom. The marriage of Candrāvatī to Pradyumna, in particular, which in each of the Paurāṇic versions is referred to only briefly, is represented in detail in lu 24. Again, the worship of Paśupati in lu 25 has its prototype in the NepM version (XI,41ff.), whereas the subsequent worshiping of Kaumārī, or Kumārī,[263] is an innovation.

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[261] Cf. above ftn. 69.

[262] For the interpretation of the corresponding passage in the PaśP (XIV,14-15b) cf. above p. 42 .

[263] For the names *kaumārī* and *kumārī*, used here interchangeably for one and the same goddess, cf. further below ftn. 267.

Summary:

Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka may be said to be an attempt to combine and harmonize two well-known Paurāṇic versions of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend with one another. To a predominant extent the play follows the NepM version. As has been shown perviously, the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the PaśP departs particularly in one lengthy section (PaśP VII,19-X,33) from the NepM version, and the contents of this section, namely Mahendradamana's theft of Kṛṣṇa's jewel, have been introduced by Jagatprakāśamalla as a further theme into the Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka.

As a whole, Jagatprakāśamalla adhered closely to the two named sources, PaśP and NepM, in his dramatic adaptation of the traditional legend. The greater part of what in his play goes beyond that concerns less the direction the plot takes than its formal representation, and so, in other words, depends upon considerations of dramaturgy. Nevertheless, at least one large deviation of the plot of the play from the Paurāṇic prototypes strikes the eye: Jagataprakāśamalla has eliminated the Indradamana-Indra episode, which had been inserted into the Paurāṇic versions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend even though having only a loose connection with it, and he has retained from the episode only those elements which seemed to him of obvious importance for the theme of the Pradyumnavijaya, namely the fact that Mahendradamana is out to extend his rule to cover the entire three worlds.

Relevance to religious history

Jagatprakāśamalla's play follows, as has previously been shown, predominantly the pattern established by the Śaiva version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in the NepM, and it is also precisely those elements appearing in the NepM as particularly clear Śaiva accretions compared to the PaśP version which are taken up into the play:

- The setting up of the Svarṇaśṛṅgeśvara and Kīleśvara liṅgas by Kṛṣṇa (NepM X,71-XI,6b) is depicted in the play in lu 23 (fol. 49b-50a);
- The worship of Paśupati by Kṛṣṇa (NepM XI,41-43) appears in the play in lu 25 (fol. 56a).

At the conclusion of the entire play Kṛṣṇa praises Śiva a second time in a long hymn, by means of which the Śaiva bent of the play is once again emphasized.

But there is, moreover, still another particular religious orientation discernible in Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka. The author was a worshiper of Devī.

This is already clear fom Jagatprakāśamalla's earlier work Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka. There, in the rājavarṇanā, the following words occur with reference to Jagatprakāśamalla: *caṇḍi caraṇa chādi āna nahi jāna* ("He knows nothing other than Caṇḍī's feet");[264] and the same sentiment is repeated in different formulations during the course of this play in other bhaṇitās,[265] the last of these being the song of praise to the mother of the worlds (*jagata janani, bhavāni*), which at the same time forms the conclusion of the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka.[266]

In Jagatprakāśamalla's later Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka the author again is described in numerous bhaṇitās as a worshiper of Devī: *jagataprakāśa bhana debi caraṇa sāra* ("[Thus] says Jagatprakāśa, who [worships] the feet of the goddess as the essence", fol. 5a; very nearly the same in fol. 18b); *caṇḍi caraṇa mana niśi dina rāgathu* ("Let one's thoughts be directed day and night upon Caṇḍī's feet", fol. 11b); and in fol. 7b both Jagatprakāśamalla and Cāndaśekharasiṃha are called servants of the mother (of the worlds): *duhu jana jananika dāse* ("Both are servants of the mother [of the worlds]"). Jagatprakāśamalla's special attraction towards Devī has left its marks, furthermore, on the story line of the play:

- The worship of Gaurī by Prabhāvatī, signaled in lu 9 and depicted in lu 13, is clearly based on the previous instance of it in NepM VIII,4b-8, but in the play it appears in a considerably elaborated form.

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[264] Cf. in the text edition of Lekhanath Mishra, p. 3.

[265] *debi sebā binu kichu nahi pāvia, mora mana ehi paya jāna* ("Nothing is obtained without service to the goddess, my mind knows only her"; ibid., p. 9); *debi caraṇa mora matī* ("My mind [is directed] to the feet of the goddess"; ibid., p. 42).

[266] *janama janama hou tora pade matī* ("From birth to birth may [my] mind [be directed] towards your feet"; Mishra's text (p. 66) has *pada*, but the MS. *pade* (NGMPP No. A 348/16, fol. 43b)).

- Furthermore, an addition to the contents in comparison to the Paurāṇic versions has been made in lu 9 of the play, where, in a song of praise, the Daityas Mahendradamana etc. thankfully pay homage to Parameśvarī, under her name Umā, for having shown them her favor.
- The following further innovation, however, is probably of greater import: Towards the end of the play, after having, as in the NepM, paid reference to Śiva in the form of Paśupati, Kṛṣṇa immediately begins worshiping Parameśvarī under the name if Kaumārī or Kumārī.[267]

The present drama thus bears an imprint of particular religious moment in the worship it displays to the goddes and mother of the worlds, who under many forms commands the highest respect in Nepal.[268] This has occurred, however, without the underlying Śaiva tone of the play having been affected, the worship of Parameśvarī towards the end of the play being followed, for instance, by a song of praise to Śiva, certainly of great significance, coming as it does at the very end of the play. Śāktism and Śaivism thus here form a unit. Jagatprakāśamalla may have viewed his worship of the goddess as a particular religious orientation within the framework of Śaivism. This is in keeping with the fact that the worship of Devī in Nepal has probably from times immemorial been intimately associated with the form of Śaivism open to Tantric influences.[269]

Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

The two previously discussed Maithili plays entitled Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, by the Bhaktapur kings Jagatprakāśamalla and Bhūpatīndramalla, followed almost exclusively the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend acccording to the Hv. A third play of the same title written by the

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[267] The two names are evidently used indiscriminately in the play for one and the same outward form of the goddess: *kaumārī* in 54a and *kumārī* in 56a and 56b. According to Slusser (1982, vol. 1, pp. 334ff.) these names originally designated two different manifestations of the goddess Durgā which frequently were not, and are not, differentiated in Nepal.

[268] Slusser (1982, col. 1, p. 308) writes in reference to "Durgā, the Universal Mother" in Nepal: "The goddess conceived as Śiva's consort is the most influential, all-pervading deity worshiped in Nepal Mandala."

[269] Cf. Lienhard 1978, pp. 165ff.

Patan king Indramalla, and now to be discussed, is based, on the contrary, like Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka, on the Nepalese Paurāṇic tradition. But whereas in the case of Jagatprakāśamalla's play it is as good as certain that the revival of the native regional version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in one way or another represented a conscious reaction to the dramatic adaptation of the Indian parallel version undertaken by the same author in his younger years, a corresponding relation between Indramalla's play from the year 1707 and Jagatprakāśamalla's early work Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka can only be hypothesized. This supposition rests solely upon the common title which is, nevertheless, indeed striking for a new adaptation by Indramalla of the Nepalese version of the legend. However, in the text of the only manuscript of Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka known to me, which contains, to be sure, only a fraction of the total text, there are no clearly identifiable references to Jagatprakāśamalla's play of the same name.

The manuscript of Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka just mentioned provides nothing but the lines the ṛṣi Nārada speaks in the drama; even those of the opposite speaker are not given. Therefore, in reading the text of this role (which I reproduce in Appendix II at the end of this study), one must always keep in mind that it is not an unbroken text but one in which the response or reaction of the other speakers must be filled in by an act of imagination.[270]

Nārada's part is largely composed in Bengali, and contains in addition a scattering of Sanskrit formulas and verses. The final colophon of the manuscript is written in Newari. The fact that the dialogue parts of the manuscript were composed predominantly in Bengali is not conclusive evidence that Indramalla wrote his entire Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka in Bengali, since it may have been a play with roles in Bengali occurring alongside ones in, say, Maithili, as is the case, for example, in the above-mentioned Hariścandranṛtya.[271]

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[270] The type of manuscript containing only a single role from a play does not, incidentally, appear to be a complete oddity; the text under discussion, in any case, is not the only one of its kind. Among the texts of Nepalese plays filmed by the NGMPP I have found another single-role script, from Bhūpatīndramalla's Bhīmacaritanāṭaka (NGMPP No. A 349/3).

[271] In the introduction to his text edition of the Hariścandranṛtya Conrady writes with regard to the language of the dance play that in

The colophon of the manuscript names as composer the Patan king Indramalla, who ruled from N.S. 826 āśvina (Sept./Oct. 17o6) to N.S. 829 caitra (Mar./Apr. 17o9),[272] in other words not a full three years. In accord with this is the date given in the colophon of the manuscript, N.S. 827 vaiśākha (Apr./May 17o7). Finally, it is expressly taken note of in the colophon that the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka is Indramalla's first play.

Although in the single manuscript of Indramalla's play only a fraction of the entire drama has been preserved, the source from which he took his material is clearly identifiable: Sanskrit verses have been taken from the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh. Furthermore, in spite of occasional deviations, the HimKh version of the legend corresponds to such an extent to the plot of the play, as far as the latter can be ascertained from the role of Nārada, that there is no reason to doubt that Indramalla used the HimKh version as his prototype. We are therefore justified in resorting to the HimKh version to extrapolate from the role of Nārada, and in this way can reconstruct at least a part of the action in Indramalla's play. At the same time, we can determine how far the author of the play has deviated from his model, the attendant question being what the motives may have been for doing so. But since Nārada's role makes up only a fraction of the entire play, one should not expect too much to come out of this.

In what follows I give an account of the course the play's actions takes, to the extent that it can be ascertained from Nārada's role supplemented by the HimKh version of the same material:

lu 1 Nārada introduces himself as a son of Brahmā and as a Vaiṣṇava. His two servants Gokuladāsa and Mathurādāsa then have the opportunity to introduce themselves too, one after the other. At the end of the scene Nārada announces his plans to go to Suprabhā to pay a visit to Prabhāvatī.

lu 2 Once in Suprabhā, Nārada greets Prabhāvatī and Candravatī and counsels them to worship the goddess Bhavānī in order to have their wishes fulfilled; the Vāgmatī would, in addition, thereby be able to

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the prose dialogues some roles are closely related linguistically to Northern Maithili and others to Bengali (p. 8).

[272] Cf. D. R. Regmi 1965-66, vol. 2, pp. 342f.; Burleigh 1976, pp. 52f.

reach the Gaṅgā. At the end Nārada lets his intentions be made known to meet Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna, who are then on a pilgrimage at the Vāgmatī.

lu 3 Nārada meets Kṛṣṇa, Balabhadra and Pradyumna on the banks of the Vāgmatī. He first addresses Kṛṣṇa, giving an account of Sūryaketu, the king from Śvetakā, and of his beautiful daughter Candravatī, who desires Pradyumna for a husband. Turning to Pradyumna, Nārada tells of Prabhāvatī, who had been already his wife in a former life, and who now has again set her sights on him as Pradyumna. Nārada advises Pradyumna to marry both Prabhāvatī and Candravatī. He then suggests that Kṛṣṇa retire to the top of Dolāgiri, and that Pradyumna worship the Vāgmatī in order to win the river's backing during the coming events. He himself will likewise retire. Nārada confides to his servants that he is awaiting the coming developments with great anticipation.

lu 4 Nārada proclaims to his servants that he intends to go to Suprabhā to console Mahendradamana at the abduction of his sister. Once in Suprabhā, Nārada lets Mahendradamana pour out his woes and then informs him, in verses taken from the HimKh, that it was Yādavas disguised as dancers, who abducted Prabhāvatī. Mahendradamana in his anger makes immediate plans to take the field against the Yādavas, but Nārada warns him of Kṛṣṇa's might and suggests, again in a verse from the HimKh, that he first steal Kṛṣṇa's Kaustubha jewel. Nārada takes his leave and again confides to his servants that he is now awaiting anxiously the coming events.

lu 5 Nārada together with his servants proceeds to Dvārakā, where he informs Pradyumna that Mahendradamana has taken on the form of Kṛṣṇa and in this manner has stolen the Kaustubha jewel and (re-)abducted Prabhāvatī. Nārada suggests that he, in order to retaliate, should go to the top of Dolāgiri and ask Kṛṣṇa for advice. They both set off together to the mountain.

End of Act IV

lu 1 Nārada reports to Kṛṣṇa on top of Dolāgiri on Mahendradamana's raid. At Kṛṣṇa's behest Nārada continues on to the heaven of the gods to call upon Indra and the other gods to be present for the coming battle against Mahendradamana.

lu 2 When Kṛṣṇa himself makes an apparent move to take to the field against Mahendradamana, Nārada reminds him that according to a decree by Brahmā only Pradyumna can slay Mahendradamana. Nārada urges Kṛṣṇa, presumably after Pradumna's fight with Mahendradamana, to do battle against the asura Kacchapa in order to win back the Kaustubha jewel.

lu 3 Before or during Kṛṣṇa's battle with Kacchapa Nārada discloses to the former that according to a decree by Brahmā Kacchapa cannot be slain in the waters of the Vāgmatī; he should therefore first draw him out of the water and only then do battle with him.

lu 4 Nārada calls upon King Sūryaketu to give his daughter Candravatī to Pradyumna. The ceremony of giving away the daughter (*kanyādāna*) is carried out.

Formal references to the divisions of the text of Nārada's role lead to the assumption that the first five scenes (lu 1 to lu 5) are parts of the fourth act, and the following four (lu 1 to lu 4) parts of the fifth and presumably last act of the play. The question may now be raised concerning the contents of the first three acts of the play - or at least the second and third act, as the first act is normally given over largely to scenes of introduction. The HimKh may here again serve as a point of reference. Nārada's entry into the action of the play begins in lu 2 of the fourth act with his advice to Prabhāvatī and Candravatī to worship Bhavānī in order to have their wishes fulfilled; in content this corresponds to the beginning of adhyāya 169 in the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Himkh: There Nārada urges the worshiping of Devī upon Prabhāvatī. Preceding that, in the HimKh adhyāyas 166-168, is the prelude, so to speak, to the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, namely the Indradamana-Indra episode. This episode had already as a whole been treated in the HimKh in greater detail in comparison to the older PaśP version,[273] and it is not impossible that in a still more extended form it filled out the first three acts of Indramalla's play. This assumption finds support in the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka of Pratāpasiṃha Śāha, to be discussed below; that drama too begins with the Indradamana-Indra episode, which there, in fact, stretches out over the first five acts.[274]

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[273] Cf. above p. 103.

[274] Cf. below pp. 148.

The present hypothesis concerning the contents of the missing first three acts of Indramalla's play is based on the assumption that Indramalla by and large followed the HimKh version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. But attention was also drawn above to the fact that Indramalla also deviated here and there from the pattern of the HimKh. In what follows the attempt will be made, to the degree that the surviving text of Nārada's role allows, to examine in more detail Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka for evidence for what extent the author of the play took over unaltered what he found in the Pradyumnottara of the HimKh and what extent he made changes:

Scene 1 of Act IV:

The presentation of the actors in this scene corresponds from a formal point of view exactly to the pattern normally found in Nepalese plays of that period.[275] Such scenes of introduction are peculiar to drama, and therefore no Paurāṇic sources need be presupposed for them.

Scene 2 of Act IV:

This scene by and large corresponds to HimKh 169,7-12; verses 11-12 are even quoted verbatim. Nevertheless, in the play Nārada, while meeting Prabhāvatī, at the same time meets Candravatī, her friend. As becomes clear in the following scene, the two young women already harbor the desire to obtain Pradyumna as a husband. In the corresponding passage in the HimKh Prabhāvatī is the lone recipient of Nārada's counsel, as is mirrored in the singular forms *sute* and *tava* in the HimKh verses 169,11-12 cited in the play, which are deliberately ignored in the Bengali paraphrase that follows. In the HimKh there is no trace of any friendship between Prabhāvatī and Candravatī before their marriage with Pradyumna, though there is such in the PaśP, namely in VII,22, where Prabhāvatī asks Pradyumna to protect her friend Candrāvatī from Mahendradamana's advances, and again in X,13ff., where Mahendradamana tries to abduct Candrāvatī but is prevented from doing so by Prabhāvatī. In the HimKh there is nothing at all corresponding to the first passage, and though in 176,40ff., corresponding in content to PaśP X,13ff., a friend of Candravatī's is adverted to, she is in no way identified with Prabhāvatī. Indramalla possibly knew the PaśP version and expanded the friendship between Prabhāvatī and Candrāvatī mentioned there to cover the entire story, including the present scene, in which he has the two young women worship the goddess in common in order to obtain Pradyumna as their husband. The motive for this innovation may very well have been that by it the irregularity, common to the PaśP and HimKh version, represented by the fact that Candrāvatī turns up in Nārada's situation report fully unanticipated, was meant to be at least toned down.

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[275] Cf. e.g. the scenes of introduction in Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka (Appendix I of the present study).

Scene 3 of Act IV:

As in the previous one, so too in this scene verses are quoted from the HimKh, which then at first glance appear to be paraphrased in Bengali, but which upon closer inspection prove, under the influence of thematic changes in plot, to have been rendered imprecisely or even incorrectly. In Nārada's account of Sūryaketu and Candravatī the two HimKh verses 171,3-4 with the following content are first quoted: Sūryaketu has long been sojourning there (presumably in the source region of the Vāgmatī) and yearns to go to heaven; his daughter Candravatī has been destined to be the wife of Pradyumna. In the following Bengali paraphrase, in contrast, Sūryaketu is said to be the king in Śvetakā, and Candravatī to desire Pradyumna for a husband. This latter version is in accord with what was said in the previous scene concerning Candravatī. The statement concerning Sūryaketu is revealing, since in the HimKh version Śvetakā is nowhere mentioned. Indramalla could have learned of Sūryaketu's association with Śvetakā from the Paurāṇic versions of the PaśP or the NepM, or from Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka. The next Bengali paraphrase, of the two verse 171,8-9 quoted from the HimKh, also contains a slight deviation, the name *madhu* having been altered to *mādhava* and hence made to conform to the name *mādhavī*.

A leveling of contents from the HimKh version may perhaps be seen in Nārada's counsel to Pradyumna to worship the Vāgmatī, since in HimKh 176,1-36 Pradyumna expressly worshiped Pārvatī, who in the end appeared in the form of the Vāgmatī, conferring on him invincibility.

Scene 4 of Act IV:

As far as can be determined from the text of Nārada's role, the author of the play adhered strictly to the contents of the HimKh prototype (174,1-30).

Scene 5 of Act IV:

In this scene, too, there are no perceptible deviations from the HimKh prototype (175,26-29).

Scene 1 of Act V:

If the interpretation of the abbreviations *ru. sa.* as *rukmiṇī satyabhāmā* is correct, then there would be a change from the HimKh version in Kṛṣṇa's having taken up permanent residence on Dolāgiri with his two main wives. In the HimKh, in contrast, it was Kṛṣṇa alone who temporarily resided on Dolāgiri during the reported events, and who in the end, after a brief visit to Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā etc. in Dvāravatī, returned forever to Nepal.

The second part of this scene, Nārada's visit to the world of the gods, correspond to HimKh 175,42-45.

Scenes 2 and 3 of Act V:

That Kṛṣṇa himself desires to fight against Mahendradamana and that Nārada rids him of the idea by referring to Brahmā's decree is something found neither in the HimKh nor in the PaśP version but only in the NepM (VIII,67f.) and in Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka (lu 21, fols. 39b-40a).

A departure from all previously discussed versions of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend is to be seen in the fact that it is Kṛṣṇa himself whom Nārada now urges to fight against Kacchapa, giving him the same advice as he did to Pradyumna in his battle with Kacchapa in the PaśP (XIV,17f.), the NepM (XI,10-13) and in Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka (lu 23, fols. 50a-b). In the HimKh (181,10ff.), on the other hand, this has been changed so that it is now Kṛṣṇa who rallies Pradyumna to battle against Kacchapa, coaching him on the necessary tactics. Indramalla has apparently chosen to ignore these two Paurāṇic versions of the battle with Kacchapa. Still, his own version is more closely related to that of the PaśP etc. than to that of the HimKh.

Scene 4 of Act V:

The marriage ceremony of Candravatī and Pradyumna, performed by Sūryaketu with Nārada backing him up, again corresponds to the pattern set in the HimKh (183,14).

In summary, one may say that Indramalla on the one hand used the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh as the model for the plot of his Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, following it closely over long stretches. On the other hand, the author of the play did not simply take over the version given him in the HimKh completely as he found it but subjected its treatment of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend to a definite revision in content.

In this work of revision Indramalla was surely inspired in part by at least one other older version of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. The surviving text of Nārada's role in the play, however, is just barely sufficient to provide certainty to the assumption that apart from the HimKh, Indramalla must have known one or more other versions of the legend, but the evidence from this one text is too scanty and unspecific to allow one to identify the other version(s).

But beyond that, Indramalla has struck out in paths of his own. Alone within the surviving text three changes in content may be detected, none of which had any precursors in the previously discussed versions: Prabhāvatī and Candravatī are now engaged as friends in the common effort to obtain Pradyumna as a husband; Kṛṣṇa resides, presumably permanently, on top of Dolāgiri together with his wives, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā; and Kṛṣṇa himself now fights against Kacchapa to win back his jewel.

Finally, as regards the first three acts of Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, one can only assume that there the author of the play provided broader scope to the Indradamana-Indra episode patterned after the HimKh. In that case, Indramalla would only have been following a tendency, already noticeable in the HimKh, to expand on this 'prelude' to the Pradyumna-Prabhavāti legend. This tendency is continued and at the same time reaches its acme in the Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka of the Śāha king Pratāpasiṃha, to be discussed briefly in the following pages.

Pratāpasiṃha's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

The Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka to be taken up now no longer falls within the period of the Malla kings of Nepal, it having been written by the second Śāha king following the conquest of the Nepal Valley (1768/1769), Pratāpasiṃha by name, who lived from 1751-1777 and reigned only from

1775-1777.[276] This play nevertheless corresponds completely in its external form to the previously discussed vernacular plays from the late Malla period. After their conquest of the Nepal Valley the Gorkhalis took over the form of drama developed under the Malla rulers. The songs of Pratāpasiṃha's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka are composed in various Hindi dialects. Under the Śāhas, who were themselves Nepali speakers,[277] Hindi, of the perviously mentioned Indian languages, kept its rank as a literary language of the court, while Maithili and Bengali fell out of use.

Only one manuscript of Pratāpasiṃha's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, containing merely the first part of the play, is known to exist. The manuscript is located in Kathmandu under private ownership, and it has been filmed by the NGMPP under the number D 22/4 and given the working title Indradamananāṭaka.

In the rājavarṇanā of this play Pratāsiṃha is described as the king of Nepal, and mention is already made of his son Raṇa Bahādur (born 1775). Hence the play belongs to the relatively brief period of Pratāpasiṃha's rule, that is, from the years between 1775 and 1777.

The manuscript does not contain any of the play's dialogue but merely an ongoing account in Newari of the sequence of action as well as accompanying Hindi songs scattered in between.[278] The surviving fragment continues up to the beginning of the sixth act, where it ends abruptly. The first two acts are given over almost entirely to scenes in which the various groups of people having a part in the play are introduced, and in the third to fifth acts the Indradamana-Indra episode is presented in detail. The manuscript terminates where the actual Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend should begin. One might wonder whether in the present case the Indradamana-Indra episode alone, without, that is, the subsequent Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, might not have constituted the plot of the play, but since at the end of the *sūtradhāra-naṭī* scene the theme of the play is identified as being *prabhāvatī haraṇa kathā* (fol. 2b), and Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī are correspondingly introduced in the surviving text, it must be assumed that again the Indradamana-Indra episode was conceived of as a 'prelude' to the central Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. One may reasonably doubt, however, whether the *Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka* of Pratāpasiṃha, obviously very broad in scope, was ever completed; since the 'prelude' to the actual dramatic theme already stetches out to the end of the fifth act, the scheme had perhaps got too far out of hand to be completed in its given form. Pratāpasiṃha, who, as was said, was destined to rule less than three years, may even have died in the course of writing the play.

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[276] On the subject of Pratāpasiṃha cf. D. R. Regmi 1975, pp. 271-284; Stiller 1973, pp. 139-151.

[277] Cf. e.g. Pratāpasiṃha's letters in Nepali, published by Dines Raj Pant (1968).

[278] Cf. the sample passage of this play given at the end of the present study in Appendix III.

Briefly, the first five acts of Pratāpasiṃha's *Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka* have the following contents:

Act I

lu 1 Appearance on stage of the *sūtradhāra* and *naṭī*.
lu 2 Śiva, Pārvatī and their retinue introduce themselves.
lu 3 Śiva and the others go to Kailāśa.
lu 4 Indra, Śacī and Dikpālas introduce themselves and go on to Amarāvatī.

Act II

lu 1 Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā etc. introduce themselves and go on to Mathurā.
lu 2 The Daityas Bali, Bimboṣṭhī and their retinue introduce themselves and go on to Suprabhā.
lu 3 *śṛṅgāra* scene between Śiva and Pārvatī.
lu 4 Pradyumna, Gada and Sāmba introduce themselves.
lu 5 Kṛṣṇa etc. and Pradyumna etc. meet in Mathurā.
lu 6 *śṛṅgāra* scene between Bali and Bimboṣṭhī.

Act III

lu 1 Brahmā and his sons introduce themselves and go on to Brahmaloka.
lu 2 Bimboṣṭhī bears a son. The court astrologer calculates his horoscope. Śukra is summoned. He performs the name-giving ceremony.
lu 3 Indra sees unfavorable omens. Bṛhaśpati informs him that his future conqueror has just been born.
lu 4 Indradamana, having grown into a young man, tells Śukra he wants to prove himself true to his name. Śukra suggests that he worship Brahmā

with the practice of austerities.[279]

Act IV

lu 1 Brahmā and his sons reach Brahmaloka.

lu 2 Indradamana engages in ascetic practices until Brahmā finally appears to him and grants him the fulfillment of his wish.

lu 3 Prabhāvatī, Guṇavatī and Candramukhī introduce themselves.

lu 4 The Daityas assemble. Śukra consecrates Indradamana as king. Indradamana sends his heralds to Indra with the demand to relinquish Amarāvatī.

Act V

lu 1 Indra angrily rejects Indradamana's ultimatum.

lu 2 Indradamana has preparations made for a military campaign.

lu 3 In the war between the gods and the Daityas various one-on-one battles are depicted. In the end the gods succumb and take to flight.

lu 4 Indra pours out his grief to Brahmā, who consoles him by foretelling the slaying of Indradamana by Pradyumna.

Pratāpasiṃha without a doubt used the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh as his model. In his play, as in the HimKh, the Indradamana-Indra episode is presented at the very beginning, as a 'prelude' to the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. Moreover, Pratāpasiṃha's drama contains several thematic elements found only in the HimKh version but not in the two parallel versions of the PaśP and NepM:

- In lu 3 of Act III Bṛhaspati explains to Indra the import of the birth of Indradamana (cf. HimKh 166,18-29);
- In lu 4 of Act II Pradyumna is introduced along with Gada and Sāmba, who are also mentioned in HimKh 17o,8 as his travel companions to Nepal;
- In lu 3 of Act V it is reported that during the battles between the gods and Daityas Indra's *vajra* got implanted in Indradamana's navel,

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[279] This scene is reproduced in its entirety and translated as a sample passage from Pratāpasiṃha's play.

this being the reason the latter is called 'Vajranābha'.[280] The same folk etymology of Indradamana's second name is again found in HimKh 166,6 as well as a second time in more detail in 167,33-35.

Both the mention of Gada and Sāmba as Pradyumna's travel companions and Indradamana's second name, Vajranābha, derive in the HimKh from the Hv; as has already been demonstrated, the redactor of the Pradyumnottara chapter of the HimKh made efforts to combine the Nepalese version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend as it had come down in the PaśP with the Indian version of the legend according to the Hv text.

Much the same is true of Pratāpasiṃha, who on the one hand used the HimKh 'mixed version' as his model, and, on the other, obviously must have drawn on a second source containing the Indian version of the legend, since the surviving portion of the play alone contains two elements which could not have come in by way of the HimKh version, where they are not found:

- In lu 3 of Act IV Prabhāvatī and her two friends Guṇavatī and Candramukhī introduce themselves. These latter two manifestly correspond to Prabhāvatī's friends Guṇavatī and Candravatī in the Indian Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī tradition.
- In lu 4 of Act IV Kuşmāṇḍa calls the Daityas together for Indradamana's enthronement; besides Śaṅkha and Kacchapa there also appears Sunābha, who regularly turns up in the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend as Vajranābha's younger brother (and, moreover, as the father of Guṇavatī and Candravatī).

There is no doubt that these two elements come from the Indian tradition of the legend. Pratāpasiṃha could have taken them either directly from the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Hv or also from the previously discussed Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka plays by Jagatprakāśamalla or Bhūpatīndramalla, both of whom follow the Hv version of the legend. This cannot be

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280. The pertinent Newari passage reads (fol. 24b): *thana indrana baj[r]a prahāra yāka guli indradamanayā nābhisa thāka. thanaṃli baj[r]anābha nāma julo* ("Indra hurls [his] thunderbolt so that it lodges in Indradamana's navel. From then on [the latter] has been called Vajranābha").

determined with exactitude from the surviving fragment of the play, which ends where the actual Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī should have begun. In any case, with Pratāpasiṃha's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka we have a renewed attempt to combine and blend the Nepalese and Indian traditions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend with one another.

A closing remark on the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in a nineteenth-century chronicle (*vaṃśāvalī*)

Pratāpasiṃha's *Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka* is presented as the most recent piece of evidence known to me of a living tradition in Nepal of regularly reassessing the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend. As we have seen, the line of development this legend has taken has been anything but straight. The ever new variations of the theme either betrayed a conscious effort to transcend the previous stages of development of the legend, and at times even to give it an entirely new slant, or could be interpreted, on the contrary, as attempts to embrace and harmonize older, diverging versions of it. Pratāpasiṃha's *Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka* from the second half of the eighteenth century was, as has been said, still a part of this living tradition.

Subsequently, however, interest in the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend appears to have waned in Nepal. Only one other extensive treatment of it is known to me from the Nepalese literature of the last two centuries, but it no longer contains any sign of being a new coming to terms with the traditional legend, confining itself rather to a simple reproduction of one of the perviously discussed Paurāṇic versions of the text. The late regeneration of the legend I refer to is located in one of the Hindu Nepalese chronicles of the nineteenth century, the so-called *Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī*.

The *Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī*,[281] written in Nepali, is distinguished among the numerous Nepalese chronicles of the past century[282] in particular by the fact that apart from 'historical' narration in the form of genealogical lists of dynasties of Nepalese kings it has also absorbed, to a degree much greater than is the case in other vaṃśāvalīs, the religious and Paurāṇic tradition of legend in Nepal. Its great popularity in Nepal may perhaps be determined with exactitude from the surviving fragment of the play, which ends where the actual Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī should have begun. In any case, with Pratāpasiṃha's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka we have a renewed attempt to combine and blend the Nepalese and Indian traditions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend with one another.

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[281] *Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī*, ed. by N. Paudel (vol. 1) and D. Lamsal (vol. 2), 1963/64 and 1966/67.

[282] A comprehensive investigation of the Nepalese chronicles from the nineteenth century has yet to be written. Bikrama Jit Hasrat offers a brief overview in the introduction to his vaṃśāvalī edition *History of Nepal*, 1970, pp. xv-xix. A monograph on Nepali historiography by Krishna Kant Adhikar (1980) contains disappointingly little information.

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[281] Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī, ed. by N. Paudel (vol. 1) and D. Lamsal (vol. 2), 1963/64 and 1966/67.

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[283] Mahes Raj Pant notes: *lekhoṭ ṛūp-mā yo vaṃśāvalī kāṭhmāṇḍaũ-kā gata satābdī-kā prāyaḥ harek baḍādmī-kā ghar-mā cha* (1974, p. 166).

[284] In the first volume of the text edition mentioned in ftn. 281, pp. 18-26.

[285] What has been said here concerning the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī chapter of the Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī applies in the same way, moreover, to a corresponding chapter in the Rājabhogamālā (1969). A comparison of the two chapters shows that one and the same text has had a bifurcated history of transmission.

SUMMARY

The memory of a former time when the Kathmandu Valley was a lake - a geologically proven fact - has been preserved for us in two different Nepalese myths: according to a Buddhist legend the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is said to have drained the valley by splitting the southern edge of the valley with a blow of his sword, thereby permitting the river Vāgmatī a means of exit; a Hindu legend, on the other hand, ascribes the heroic deed of opening and draining the valley to Kṛṣṇa together with his son Pradyumna.

To judge by the present situation, the Buddhist myth must be said to have clearly prevailed over the Hindu version. The Buddhist myth is frequently cited in recent literature from and about Nepal as the legend of the origin of the Kathmandu Valley, and as a folk saga it is, as far as I can determine, today commonly known. It derives from the Buddhist Svayaṃbhū-purāṇa, itself probably of the Malla period, but seems as a whole not to have originated in Nepal but to have been taken over in its fundamental features from Khotan. The Hindu drainage myth, on the other hand, has succumbed in Nepal largely to oblivion, even though formerly, as Paurāṇic Sanskrit literature and plays in the vernacular testify, the theme obviously strongly engaged the minds of Nepalese Hindus, providing the occasion to repeated and detailed revisions.

The causes responsible for the Buddhist myth's having in the end prevailed over the parallel Hindu myth are probably not to be sought to any significant degree in a direct confrontation between Buddhists and Hindus over the myth of the valley's origin; in any case, a comparison of the relevant sources of the two legends has not brought to light any important agreement in content or cases of mutual reference, apart from the fact that both have to do with the draining of the valley. The final eclipse of the Hindu legend, rather, seems to have been connected primarily with internal problems which cropped up in the course of the development of the Hindu myth. These gained in intensity and led finally to a waning of interest in it, repeatedly contested as it was.

In particular, three problems associated with the Hindu myth may be mentioned which recurrently sparked revisers of the theme to make corrections, changes and addititions in the respectively older version:

- Already in the oldest surviving Paurāṇic works the mythological tale contains transparent inconsistencies, themselves evidently products of earlier processes of development and growth. Such inconsistencies induced continual corrective redactions of the myth.
- As the Paurāṇic sources show, the myth was the object of an escalating sectarian conflict between Vaiṣṇavas, from whose quarters the myth evidently arose in the beginning, and Śaivas, who, on account of their main shrine Paśupatināth, which lies on the Vāgmatī, attempted to assimilate and reserve for themselves the entire Vāgmatī mythology.
- The drainage myth was intimately bound up with a love story between Pradyumna and Prabhāvatī, for which in India, in the widely known Harivaṃśa, there existed a second Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, competing with it to a certain degree, and against which the local Nepalese version had to hold its own.

It is within the scope of these three briefly sketched problems that, in the main, the motives are to be sought for the redactors' having repeatedly changed the Hindu drainage myth.

In order then to determine, on the one hand, the transformations the narrative underwent in the course of its history and, on the other, the individual motives responsible for them, the different forms the narrative stock took had to be, as the first step in the investigation, brought into chronological order. Whereas the dates of composition of a part of the literary sources dealt with, namely the vernacular plays from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, could be chronologically delimited and in cases, from references in the surviving manuscripts, even pinpointed to the year, the chronological sequence of the older, Paurāṇic Sanskrit sources had to be determined from the texts themselves. Since between the pertinent sections of the texts of the Paśupatipurāṇa, the Nepālamāhātmya and the Himavatkhaṇḍa there may be registered as a whole, apart from numerous deviations, close thematic bonds, including word-for-word agreement over fairly lengthy passages, recourse could be had to the "Methode des Vergleichs von Mehrfachüberlieferungen" (P. Hacker), which, in identifying common and deviating features of language and content, leads to relatively trustworthy results on textual history, i.e. on the developments and transformations of different texts dealing with one and the same theme.

A corresponding investigation of the pertinent Paurāṇic source texts has led to the following stages of development:

- In the historically oldest preserved text, the Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the Paśupatipurāṇa, numerous text elements and entire text passages can already be recognized as being subsequent additions from inconsistencies in content and by comparison with the corresponding chapter of the Nepālamāhātmya. The changes in text in the oldest reconstructible stages of development do not by and large appear to have been made for sectarian reasons, but rather are explainable largely from considerations of the plot itself, its plausibility and consistency. It is worthy of note, then, that in the Śaiva Paśupatipurāṇa an old Vaiṣṇava version has been preserved to a great degree without sectarian alteration.
- The Pradyumnavijaya chapter of the Nepālamāhātmya evidently derives from a textual prototype of the Paśupatipurāṇa version, but it has been expanded, first by a framing narrative decidedly Vaiṣṇava in character, and then by a series of Śaiva additions. In the stage of development documented here the sectarian conflict between Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas over the Vāgmatī mythology evidently reached its high point.
- The Pradyumnottara chapter of the Himavatkhaṇḍa, finally, appears to be directly based on the surviving version of the Paśupatipurāṇa. However, the narrative in the Himavatkhaṇḍa has been a good deal elaborated, and in addition - similar to the Nepālamāhātmya but fully independent of it - been refashioned or added to in a Śaiva vein. Several sections of the Himavatkhaṇḍa, moreover, derive from a second source, the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend as found in the Harivaṃśa. Apparently the attempt was made in the compilation of the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Himavatkhaṇḍa to join up the two different traditions of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī, the local Nepalese version and the Pan-Indian one, no doubt in order to bring each more in line with the other.

It is noteworthy that there are even indications that the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend itself possibly came in the beginning from Nepal, or at least arose in connection with the local Nepalese version. This, however, can no longer be simply inferred from the

Harivaṃśa text itself, in which no reference to Nepal is found, and, if my cautiously offered hypothesis is true, was long forgotten in Nepal by the time the version known throughout all India made its (renewed) entry into the history of Nepalese literature. If at first, in the Himavatkhaṇḍa, portions of the Harivaṃśa version were taken up into its Pradyumnottara chapter in, if anything, a covert fashion, then later the Indian version emerged in its entirety as the story line of two Nepalese Maithili plays from the late Malle period.

The second large group of literary sources of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in Nepal is found among numerous surviving texts of plays written in vernacular languages from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are composed predominantly in languages of northern India (Maithili, Bengali, Hindi), in part also in Newari, and are a kind of libretto for dramatic performances in which song and dance were the main focus of attention. The sorting, editing and analysis of this extensive literature has just begun.

Among the manuscripts of these plays from the late Malla period, a total of five texts have been found pertinent to the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī theme, all of which follow closely the epic-paurāṇic models of the previously discussed Sanskrit texts:

- Two Maithili plays with the title Prabhāvatīharaṇa, written by the Bhaktapur kings Jagatprakāśamalla and Bhūpatīndramalla, follow completely the story line of the Harivaṃśa version. In the case of the older author, Jagatprakāśamalla, it cannot be determined from this fact whether or not he consciously gave perference to the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend over the local one. Nepalese court life and literature of the time were oriented to a high degree to Indian models, especially from Bihar and Bengal, and this is clearly manifested in the use of Maithili and Bengali as court literary languages, and also in the themes of the numerous vernacular plays of the period. It is possible that in his early life, when he wrote his play Prabhāvatīharaṇa, Jagatprakāśamalla was simply more familiar with Indian mythology than with his own local tradition.

- Later, however, the same king, turning his thoughts to the native version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, composed another Maithili play, with the title Pradyumnavijaya, in which he faithfully adhered to the Nepalese Paurāṇic tradition. In this play Jagatprakāśamalla combined the two narrative versions of the Paśupatipurāṇa and the Nepālamāhātmya, possibly with the thought in mind of contributing to the unification of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī tradition, by then split into multiple versions.

- Two further Nepalese vernacular plays from the eighteenth century likewise followed the local tradition of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in relying exclusively, as far as the surviving fragments of the texts indicate, upon the Himavatkhaṇḍa version. One is the first play of the Patan king Indramalla. From this play, however, only the text of the role of a single actor in it, written in Bengali, has come down to us in manuscript form, but since we know that the Paurāṇic model of the play was, the contents of at least parts of it may be reconstructed. The second play dates from the period following the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley by the Śāha dynasty, it having been composed by the Śāha king Pratāpasiṃha in a mixed dialect of Hindi. Only a part of this play, too, has survived in manuscript form. Since this first part of the play, however, containing not much more than the prelude to the actual Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, already takes up a full five acts, it is more than possible that the whole play, being conceived from the outset in far too epic proportions, was never completed.

Finally, the historically latest work incorporating the Hindu drainage myth is, as far as I know, located in a Nepalese chronicle from the nineteenth century, in the so-called Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī. The revival here of the old theme, however, consists of nothing more than a Nepali translation or paraphrase of the Sanskrit version of the Nepālamāhātmya and so shows no signs of being a newly creative revision of the traditional narrative.

Harivaṃśa text itself, in which no reference to Nepal is found, and, if my cautiously offered hypothesis is true, was long forgotten in Nepal by the time the version known throughout all India made its (renewed) entry into the history of Nepalese literature. If at first, in the Himavatkhaṇḍa, portions of the Harivaṃśa version were taken up into its Pradyumnottara chapter in, if anything, a covert fashion, then later the Indian version emerged in its entirety as the story line of two Nepalese Maithili plays from the late Malle period.

The second large group of literary sources of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in Nepal is found among numerous surviving texts of plays written in vernacular languages from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are composed predominantly in languages of northern India (Maithili, Bengali, Hindi), in part also in Newari, and are a kind of libretto for dramatic performances in which song and dance were the main focus of attention. The sorting, editing and analysis of this extensive literature has just begun.

Among the manuscripts of these plays from the late Malla period, a total of five texts have been found pertinent to the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī theme, all of which follow closely the epic-paurāṇic models of the previously discussed Sanskrit texts:

- Two Maithili plays with the title Prabhāvatīharaṇa, written by the Bhaktapur kings Jagatprakāśamalla and Bhūpatīndramalla, follow completely the story line of the Harivaṃśa version. In the case of the older author, Jagatprakāśamalla, it cannot be determined from this fact whether or not he consciously gave perference to the Indian version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend over the local one. Nepalese court life and literature of the time were oriented to a high degree to Indian models, especially from Bihar and Bengal, and this is clearly manifested in the use of Maithili and Bengali as court literary languages, and also in the themes of the numerous vernacular plays of the period. It is possible that in his early life, when he wrote his play Prabhāvatīharaṇa, Jagatprakāśamalla was simply more familiar with Indian mythology than with his own local tradition.
- Later, however, the same king, turning his thoughts to the native version of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, composed another Maithili

play, with the title *Pradyumnavijaya*, in which he faithfully adhered to the Nepalese Paurāṇic tradition. In this play Jagatprakāśamalla combined the two narrative versions of the *Paśupatipurāṇa* and the *Nepālamāhātmya*, possibly with the thought in mind of contributing to the unification of the Nepalese Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī tradition, by then split into multiple versions.

- Two further Nepalese vernacular plays from the eighteenth century likewise followed the local tradition of the Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend in relying exclusively, as far as the surviving fragments of the texts indicate, upon the *Himavatkhaṇḍa* version. One is the first play of the Patan king Indramalla. From this play, however, only the text of the role of a single actor in it, written in Bengali, has come down to us in manuscript form, but since we know that the Paurāṇic model of the play was, the contents of at least parts of it may be reconstructed. The second play dates from the period following the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley by the Śāha dynasty, it having been composed by the Śāha king Pratāpasiṃha in a mixed dialect of Hindi. Only a part of this play, too, has survived in manuscript form. Since this first part of the play, however, containing not much more than the prelude to the actual Pradyumna-Prabhāvatī legend, already takes up a full five acts, it is more than possible that the whole play, being conceived from the outset in far too epic proportions, was never completed.

Finally, the historically latest work incorporating the Hindu drainage myth is, as far as I know, located in a Nepalese chronicle from the nineteenth century, in the so-called *Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī*. The revival here of the old theme, however, consists of nothing more than a Nepali translation or paraphrase of the Sanskrit version of the *Nepālamāhātmya* and so shows no signs of being a newly creative revision of the traditional narrative.

APPENDIX I

Text edition and translation of Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka

Of the three Maithili plays from Nepal discussed above dealing with the Pradyumma-Prabhāvatī legend, the one which has incorporated the Nepalese version of the legend, namely the Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka by Jagatprakāśamalla, will now be presented in its textual entirety along with a translation.

With the filming of the manuscript by the NGMPP the play has become readily available, but since neither the Newari script nor Old Maithili and Newari can be assumed to be known to every Indologist, the presentation of the play with text and translation seemed appropriate. As was noted above in passing,[1] up to now only a few plays from Nepal's later Malla period have been edited from among the considerable number of those handed down in manuscripts. I referred above[2] to seven text editions of Maithili plays, but they (at least those accessible to me), besides reproducing the text in many instances quite inaccurately, for all practical purposes offer no aid - e.g. translations or textual clarifications - in understanding it.[3] In Conrady's edition (1891) of the Maithili-Bengali play Hariścandranṛtya, too, one would gladly have known the editor's interpretation of a large number of problematic passages.

I therefore have decided in favor of a reproduction of the text with complete translation. At first I had considered editing and translating selected portions of the text, particularly since the dialogue passages, whose language is at times quite elementary, are constantly being repeated in a stereotyped fashion. But since on overall impression as faithful as possible to the original text seemed in the end called for, I decided to reproduce and translate the text in its entirety. In order to be fair to the play in one's judgment of it, one should bear in mind that the texts of Nepalese drama of the late Malla period were meant for performances accompanied by dance, song and musical background.

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[1] Cf. above p. 114.

[2] Cf. above p. 114.

[3] Cf. e.g. my remarks on Lekhanath Mishra's edition of Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka (p.119 , fnt. 218).

Description of the Manuscript:

The manuscript of the Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka comprises fifty-seven leaves, preserved in good condition. The material of the loose leaves of the manuscript is coarse-grained, beige-brownish Nepali paper 21.2 x 7.6 cm in dimensions, each of the leaves containing seven lines of evenly proportioned and accurately lettered script.[4] The manuscript is located in Kathmandu under private ownership. It has been filmed by the NGMPP under the serial code G 64/19, and appears in the NGMPP catalogue under the working title Pradyumnavivāha[-nāṭaka]. I had the opportunity to cross-check problematic passages in the manuscript, those which did not come through clearly in the film, with the original manuscript.

Languages:

The text as it appears in the manuscript is composed in four different languages. The major portion, namely the dialogue passages as well as almost all songs, is written in Maithili. The only exception is Pradyumna's *śṛṅgāra* song in fol. 44a, sung to Prabhāvatī in an old Hindi dialect.[5] Within the dialogue passages, furthermore, the text contains a fairly large number of Sanskrit verses as well as, here and there, turns of speech in Sanskrit prose, usually formulaic in nature. Finally, dramaturgical instructions, such as speaker tags and stage directions, are given for the most part in Newari and to a lesser extent in Sanskrit or Pseudo-Sanskrit.

The reproduction of the text:

The text of the manuscript has been transliterated below into the Latin alphabet in the form standardized internationally for Devanāgarī script. Whenever emendations have been made or normalized forms substituted, the reading of the manuscript is noted either at the bottom of the same page (marked by small letters) or, when elucidation appeared called for, at the end of the entire play (marked by numbers). Those places, happily few in number, which could not be read clearly from the manuscript are likewise taken note of. Additions to the text appear in brackets.

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[4] Cf. the photographic reproduction of fols. 4b-5a further below at the conclusion of this introduction.

[5] As far as I can tell, this is peculiar to Jagatprakāśamalla. In his Gītapañcaka, otherwise composed exclusively in Maithili and Sanskrit, there are similarly two Hindi songs in the seventh chapter (in the MS. filmed by the NGMPP under B 285/21, fols. 24b-25a); and his Maithili play Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka again has two songs in Hindi (in the text edition of Lekhanath Mishra on pages 37 and 53f.). Up to now I have not come across this phenomenon in Maithili plays of other Nepalese authors of the late Malla period.

Emendations and normalizations are made in the text or not according to the following principles: Sanskrit texts have been emended consistently according to the rules of Sanskrit orthography. In Maithili passages the distinction had to be made between, on the one hand, orthographic mistakes or slips of the pen, which of course required correcting to the extent they could clearly be recognized,[6] and, on the other, certain orthographic anomalies where it was not clear to begin with whether they should be normalized or not. What one takes for on orthographic anomaly depends on the standard one has decided upon. In the present case, I took my bearings first and foremost from the orthography of Maithili described - though by no means uniformly - in the Maithili grammars of George A. Grierson (1909), Subhadra Jha (1958) and Govinda Jha (1974). Furthermore, in the special case of loan (*tatsama*) words from Sanskrit one of course can incorporate Sanskrit orthography, or in the case of *tadbhava* words have recourse to the corresponding forms in New Indo-Aryan languages closely related to Maithili (Bhojpuri, Oriya, Assamese, Bengali, Hindi etc.) as a standard of comparison.[7] Since the present play comes from the Kathmandu Valley and has been handed down in Newari script, the additional problem arises that in the current state of Maithili philology it is scarcely possible to decide to what extent individual frequently occurring orthographic anomalies in the manuscript

- correspond to the overall state of evolution of the Maithili language at the time,
- are attributable - perhaps under the influence of Newari - to isolated developments of the Maithili language in the Kathmandu Valley,

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[6] E.g. *kalaha* for *kahala* in fol. 21b and *pradyumnanaka* for *pradyumnaka* in fol. 40a.

[7] Of particular value alongside dictionaries of individual New Indo-Aryan languages is Ralph L. Turner 1966 along with D. R. Turner 1969.

- or are due simply to Newar copyists who, in dealing with an incompletely mastered language, followed their own orthographic practices.

Due to these uncertainties subjective decisions on the extent to normalize or not were partially unavoidable. In general, the procedure I followed in order to be able to avoid too many changes in the text during its subsequent reproduction was to list in advance frequently recurring orthographic anomalies and document them with numerous examples from the manuscript. This seemed especially called for in those cases in which the anomalies were obvious when measured by the standard of Sanskrit or related New Indo-Aryan languages, but which from the testimony of the above-mentioned Maithili grammars, for instance, have already been observed in other old Maithili manuscripts.

Caution was particularly called for in the songs of the play, since there one had to reckon with the possibility that anomalies in orthography might be conditioned by the meter. The meters of the songs, however, could not be used as criteria in deciding for or against emendations in the text, since what Monika Thiel-Horstmann has formulated as generally applying to the prosody of North Indian folk songs is likely to apply here too: The meters cannot be determined from the texts of the songs alone without a knowledge of their musical realization, since the former are based on the musical rhythm.[8] In other words, emendations in the song texts were to be avoided to the extent they involved a change in the meter.[9]

A brief listing now follows of the more frequent orthographic anomalies occurring in the Maithili text of the manuscript:

- Consonants immediately following an *r* often, but by no means always, appear in a geminated form: e.g. *pūrṇṇa* (15b), *karttā* (34b), *garbba* (47a); but *kārya* (15b), *antarjāmi* (24b). This type of gemination also is found in the Sanskrit passages, and it has been uniformily corrected in the reproduction of the text.

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[8] Thiel-Horstmann 1978, pp. 68f.; cf. also the review of the book by J. Kuckertz in Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 78 (1983), col. 84.

[9] To give an example: The name Pradyumna appears in the songs in four different variants, namely *pradyumna* (37b, 38a), *paradyumna* (39a), *paradumna* (4b, 46a) and *padumana* (4b); all the forms have been taken up into the transcription of the text unaltered.

- *r* and *l* frequently alternate with each other: e.g. *jānara* for *jānala* (20a), *reba* for *leba* (47a), *bala* for *bara* (37b) and *pālara* for *pārala* (47a). *r* and *l* evidently stand for one and the same sound, a fact reflected in rhyming patterns: e.g. *sāgara* - *lāgala* (31b), *bālā* - *hārā* and *bola* - *jora* (33b). The alternation of *r* and *l* is widespread in the manuscripts of old Maithili literature.[10]
- The manuscript regularly has *v* for *b*. In Maithili an original *v* invariably became *b*; *v* only appears as a glide between vowels and in *va* for *o*:[11] cf. in the present manuscript *gāve* and *pāve* (12a); further, *kavana* (39b) and *pāvala* (16a etc.) alongside *kaona* (27b etc.) and *pāola* (55b).
- The manuscript manifests a clear tendency to substitute dentals for retroflexes. This applies both to occlusives (e.g. *betī* (34a), *pathāu* (42b), *chādi* (15a) and *būdha* (57a)) and to the nasal (e.g. *taruna* (41b) and *prāna* (44b)). Grierson gave a general description of this phenomenon for the nasal in Maithili,[12] and as early as his Vocabulary of 1882 correspondingly listed, for example, *mani* along with *maṇi*, *prāna* with *prāṇa* and *gana* with *gaṇa*. In the case of retroflex occlusives, however, the tendency to dentalization is possibly a peculiarity of the manuscripts in Newari script; A. Conrady and T. Mukherji,[13] in any case, noted the same trend in the Nepalese manuscripts from which they compiled their text editions.
- *s* occasionally stands in for *ś* or *ṣ*: e.g. *parakāsa* (7a), *sītala* (7b), *bhāsā* (44a). This is in line once more with a general tendency in Maithili.[14]
- *j* partially replaces *y*: e.g. *antarjāmi* (24b), *jogya* (32b), *jama* (47a). This phenomenon is also widespread in Maithili.[15]
- In several cases *r* appears for *ṛ* or *ḍ*: e.g. *phāri* (50a), *karali* (11a) and *kharaga* (for *khaḍga*, 18b).

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[10] Cf. S. Jha 1958, pp. 22-26 and § 171.

[11] Cf. Grierson 1909, §§ 23-24.

[12] Grierson 1909, § 22.

[13] Das Hariccandranṛityam, ed. by A. Conrady, 1891, p. 2; Gopīcandra Nāṭaka, ed. by T. Mukherji, 1970, p. xv.

[14] S. Jha 1958, pp. 22 and 26 and § 178; Grierson 1909, §§ 23-24.

[15] S. Jha 1958, pp. 21 and 27; Grierson 1909, § 23.

- In one group of cases the nasalization by anunāsika is missing, as e.g. *ācala* for *ā̃cala* (37a), *aguthi* for *ãguthi* (44a) and *lābi* for *lā̌bi* (45a).
- Double consonants are degeminated in prose text: *ichā* (passim), *kachapa* (passim), *kacā* (45a). The forms *utara* (4a), *udhaba* (4b) and *ulāsa* (54b), on the other hand, occur in songs and may be due to meter.
- Presumably conditioned by meter are the frequent words in songs occurring with epenthetic vowels: cf. e.g. in fol. 4a *bhagati*, *puruba* and *jagataprakāśa*.
- The same is likely to apply to the alternation of *i* and *ī* as well as *u* and *ū*, likewise observed predominantly in songs: e.g. *dakṣīṇa* (4a), *samipa* (38a), *kiḍā* (45a), *bhuṣaṇa* (57a). In the prose text I have come across the forms *jiba* (48a; alongside *jība* in 48a, 50a) and *parikṣa* (24b).

Stage directions:

The dramaturgical instructions of the text, those parts, that is, containing merely cues for the actor and not meant to be performed themselves, are composed partially in Sanskrit and partially in Newari, the boundary between them not being always clear.

Speaker tags such as *sarve*, *ubhe* and *ubhau* are pure Sanskrit; phrases like *prathamakoṇe*, *iti prathamāṅkaḥ* and *atha dvitīyadivase* are Pseudo-Sanskrit; forms without endings, both common nouns like *prabeśa* and *biśrāma*, and proper names, as in speaker tags (*kṛṣṇa*, *uddhaba* etc.), I take to be Newari loan forms from Sanskrit and transcribe them in accordance with Newari orthography (for example, *b* in place of *v*). But whether a phrase like *kṛṣṇokti śṛṅgāra* (or *kṛṣṇoktiśṛṅgāra*) is meant to be Sanskrit or Newari cannot be precisely determined.

The dramaturgical instructions in the text are frequently given in a shortened form. Thus the speaker tags appear in large part in the form of abbreviations: e.g. *sūtra.* for *sūtradhāra*, *kṛ.* for *kṛṣṇa* and *ma.*, *mahe.*, *mahendra.* for *mahendradamana*. Since from the context there is never any doubt who is meant in each case, I have incorporated into the transcript of the text the abbreviations as found in the manuscript, unaltered in their variety. the same applies to the abbreviations *pratha.* for *prathamakoṇe* and *dvitī.* for *dvitīyakoṇe* in the entrance and exit scenes.

The Newari abbreviations which crop up in stage directions, however, ought to require some commentary, especially since even among native Newari philologists they still appear to be not clearly understood:[16]

- Entrances are signaled concisely by *duṃ* and exits by *piṃ*, in each case *hāya* being understood:[17] *duṃ* [*hāya*] = '[they come] on [stage]'. *piṃ* [*hāya*] = '[they exit] from [stage]'. The unabbreviated forms appear in the present play once each: *duṃ hāya* (18a) and *pi hāya* (49b). *duṃ hā* (36b, 46b) and *piṃ hā* (51a) may likewise be abbreviations of the previously named expressions, but it is also possible that other terms are intended, as, for example, *duṃhā* [*vaya*] and *piṃhā* [*vane*].[18]
- Four types of entrances are distinguished terminologically:
  1. *prabeśa* designates the actor's first appearance on stage, and thus occurs exclusively in scenes of introduction.
  2. *paisāraṇa*[19] *duṃ* (also abbreviated to *paisā. duṃ* and *pai. duṃ*) designates a 'large' entrance, which is introduced by an entrance song (*paisāra* [*me*]) and followed in turn by a circling of the stage accompanied by intermittent dialogue (*prathamakoṇe - dvitīyakoṇe -*).
  3. *daba. duṃ* and *da. duṃ* are abbreviations for *dabalisa duṃ* (= '[they come] on stage') and designates a 'middle' entrance, without a song of entrance but still with dialogue interrupting the circling of the stage.

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[16] To my knowledge, a list and elucidation of common abbreviations used in Newari stage directions was first prepared and published by Satyamohana Jośī and Hemarāja Śākya (in their text edition of Bhūpatīndramalla's Newari play Vikramacarita (197o), pp. 1of.). Although, in my opinion, the list contains many errors, it has recently been adopted in an almost unaltered form by Śāntaharṣa Vajrācārya (in both introductions to the text editions of the two Newari plays mentioned above on p. 114, ftn. 2o1).

[17] In the MS. of Jagatprakāśamalla's early work Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka the phrases *duṃ hāya* and *piṃ hāya* are throughout still used in their unshortened form.

[18] Cf. the formulation in fol. 47b: *laṃkhana pihā vayāva*; see further Jørgensen 1936, s.v. *du-hā*, *pi-hā*; Lienhard's Nevārīgītimañjarī, 1974, Glossary s.v. *duhāṃ*, *pihā(ṃ)*.

[19] For *paisāra* cf. R. L. Turner 1966, s.v. *pratisarati*.

4. *pari. duṃ* and *pa. duṃ* designate a 'small' entrance, with neither a song of entrance nor dialogue. *pari.* and *pa.* are presumably short forms of *parikṣapana/parikṣepana*, which occasionally appears in other plays,[2o] and is possibly to be translated as 'circling [the stage]'.[21] In that case the 'small' entrance would consist in a simple turn about the stage uninterrupted by dialogue.

- Corresponding to the three last named types of entrance are the following terms for three different exits:

  1. *nissāra* signals a 'large' exit (*nissāra* [*me*] = exit [song]).
  2. *daba. piṃ* and *da. piṃ* stand for *dabalina piṃ* (= '[they exit] from the stage') and designate a 'middle' exit;
  3. *pari. piṃ*, or *pa. piṃ*, designates a 'small' exit.

- As for *tipa* (29b, 36a) and *jhākha* (47a,b), I concur with the explanation by Prem B. Kasā,[22] according to which these two terms designate two different ways of blowing the Newar music instrument *poṃgā* :[23] *tipa* when accompanying religious ceremonies and scenes portending future happiness, *jhākha* when danger or a threat is impending.

Finally, as a general observation on the Newari of the stage directions of the present play, let note be taken of the fact that the idiom used here differs from the language described by Hans Jørgensen as classical Newari[24] particularly in the occasional lengthening of the vowel *a*: e.g. the manuscript has *khāne* (23a) instead of *khane*, *dāne* (24b) instead of *dane* and *hmāti* (53a) instead of *hmati*.[25] This lengthening is recognized even today as a feature specific to the dialect of Newari spoken in Bhaktapur.

[2o] As in Jayaprakāśamalla's Ratneśvarapradurbhāvanāṭaka (ed. by Prem B. Kasā, 1964, passim), in the Gopicandranaṭaka (ed. by T. Mukherji, 197o, p. 15) and in the Hariścandranṛtya (ed. by A. Conrady, 1891, p. 17).

[21] The explanation given by Satyamohana Jośī and Hemarāja Śākya and adopted by Śāntaharṣa Vajrācarya (cf. above ftn. 16) that *pari. du* = *thagu paribāre dune* (= "[they walk over] to their own family/group") does not appear to me to hold up in the majority of cases.

[22] In the epilogue to his text edition of Jayaprakāśamalla's Ratneśvarapradurbhavanaṭaka (1964, pp. ca-cha). I fail to follow the completely different explanation for *tipa* offered by Jośī and Śākya and renewed by Vajrācarya (cf. above ftn. 16).

[23] On the *poṃgā* cf. e.g. S. and H. Wiehler 198o, pp. 113f.

[24] Jørgensen 1936 and 1941.

The musical realization of the songs:

At the beginning of all Maithili songs the respective musical 'mode' (*rāga*)[26] and rhythm (*tāla*) in which the songs are to be performed and backed up are given. As is customary in Nepalese manuscripts,[27] the designation of the rāgas appears in its full form (e.g. *āsāvarī, dhanāśrī, rājavijaya* etc.), whereas the tālas are given largely as abbreviations (e.g. *pra., co., e.* etc.).

In about two-thirds of the songs the rāga and tāla are prefaced by still a third piece of information, consisting in each case of a short phrase in Maithili or Newari and the syllable *mā* appended to it. *mā* is possibly the abbreviation for some musical term. Each of the phrases preceding it, in any case, appears to be the beginning of a song in Maithili (e.g. *calu muni* (13b), *jāyaba śṛṅgāra pura* (16a), *calaha hame* (46a) etc.) or Newari (e.g. *nuyo mayaju kehe* (35b), *lavāṅa svāna* (37a) etc.). Five of these phrases coincide with the beginnings of five songs in Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka.[28] Nevertheless, what exactly this datum ending in *mā* refers to continues to remain unclear. It should be noted, finally, that corresponding formulas are met with in several other Nepalese plays of the late Malla period,[29] and so are in no way peculiar to the present one.

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25. The other Newari dictionaries I am familiar with also have only the forms with a short *a*: *khane*, *dane* and *hmati*; cf. the glossary of Lienhard's Nevarigitimañjarī (1974); Jośī 1955/56; Śreṣṭhacarya (unpublished typescript).

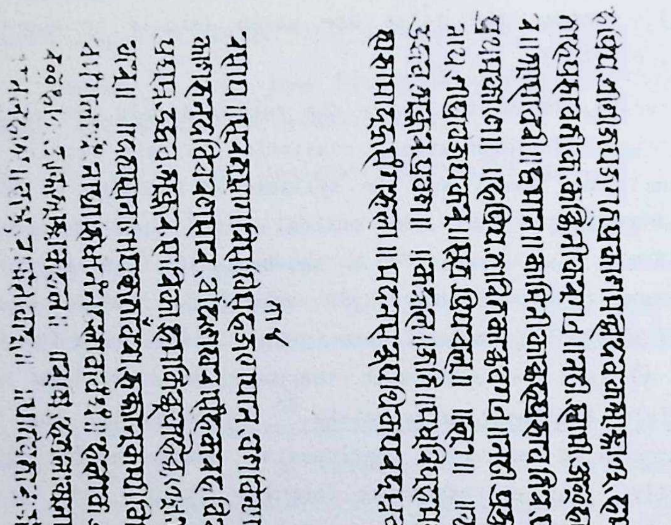
26. For the concept of *rāga* in Indian music cf. e.g. Daniélou 1980, esp. pp. 91ff.

27. Cf. e.g. in Lienhard's Nevārīgītimañjarī, 1974, pp. 240-242.

28. These are the phrases *katae so* (18b), *mālatī* (19a), *jaubana samaya* (31a), *tohe gada śāmba* (47a) and *tohe māraya* (47b) in the index of song beginnings in Lekhanath Mishra's text edition of Prabhavatīharaṇanaṭaka, pp. 67-69.

29. E.g. in Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka and in plays by Bhupatīndramalla (Vidyavilapa, Vikramacarita etc.).

Fols. 4b-5a of the manuscript of Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka



TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Text

(fol. 1b) oṃ namaḥ śrīnṛtyanāthābhyām[a]

(nāndī)

(gaurī ādha tanu mā. kāmoda. co.)

hima giri nandini tribhuvana baṃdini
timira jāmini tuva nāme
śibaka ghariṇī tohe trinayana ati sohe
tanu dekhi tua abhirāme //
haraka tilaka śaśi niramala parakata
tathuhu dekhala niya jore
gaurī kopa bhari bicārala nahi ehe
jānala patibimba more //
tāta sadana raha duyi tanu eka bhaya
niraṃjana sādhana thāne
aneka bilāsana jogini saṃge
se thala jāha masāne //
jagataprakāśa kaha cā̃daśekhara deba
bhuguti muguti sebi pāve
karuṇa samudara pālaya lā̃i
seoba duhu deba īśāna //[3]

(sūtra. prabeśa)

(nāndīślokaḥ)

vāme ya(fol. 2a)sya virājate girisutā bhāle mṛgāṅkasthito
grīvāyāṃ bhujagaḥ śmaśānavasatiḥ[b] khaṭvāṅgadhārī śivaḥ /
bhūtānām adhināyakaḥ surapater vāñchāpradaḥ[c] sarvadā[d]
gaṅgā[e] ya[c]chirasi prasannasalilā pāyāt sa vaḥ śaṅkaraḥ //

---

[a] nāthābhyāṃ [b] smaśāna- [c] -pater vvāṃchā- [d] sarvvadā [e] gaṃgā

Translation

Homage to the two masters of dance, [Śiva and Pārvatī].

(Song of benediction)

(...)

Daughter of the Himalaya, worshiped by the three worlds,

Your name is 'watcher of the dark (?)'.

You are Śiva's wife, whose three eyes sharply gleam;

Seeing your form [gives] pleasure.[1]

Hara's forehead mark is the moon, appearing unblemished:

Therein she saw her own equal;

Gaurī paid it no heed full of wrath, [though,]

Since she knew: "It's my reflection."

Being one, she has two forms: She lives in her father's house,

At the unstained place of worship;

[Yet, too,] with the Yoginīs [she seeks] many joys.

Go to this place, the burning ground!

[Thus] says Jagatprakāśa. Revered[2] Cāndaśekhara,

By serving one gains delight and delivery.

To cross the ocean of sorrow

Let us both serve Īśāna.

(The stage manager appears)

(Benedictory verse)

Śiva, on whose left the mountain daughter shines, on whose forehead sits the moon, around whose neck a serpent [is coiled], who dwells in burning grounds and carries a skull-club, who is the chief leader of [all] beings and grants the wishes always [even] of the gods' lord [Indra], and on whose head the Gaṅgā with pure water [flows], this Śaṅkara protect us both.

(āsāvarī. thaka.)

aruṇa baraṇa bhela deba badhu bāli
rakata basana tuva mayūra bihāri //
bārihi bhujā bara naba pallaba tūla
sakati śūrahi dhara tribhubana mūla //
baṭa taru nibāsini biṃdu sahite
prāta birājita ati rucira cite //
jagataprakāśa bhana ābe tua dāse
cā̃daśekharasiṃha milaba mori āse //

(puṣpamokṣaṇaślokaḥ)

namo bhavānīsahitāya śambhave
jagatprasūtisthitināśa(fol. 2b)hetave /
gaṇādhināthāya varapradāya
savitṛcandrāgnisarūpacakṣuṣe[a] //

sūtra.: he priye! alam ativistareṇa.

(naṭī tipa. duṃ.)

he svāmi! hamara praṇāma. kī nimitta āhvāna kayala.

sūtra.: he priye! sūryabaṃśodbhava sakala nṛpati cūḍāmaṇi mahārājādhirāja śrī śrī jaya jagatprakāśamalla deba ājñā kayala.

naṭī: he nātha! kī nimitta ājñā kayala.

sūtra.: he priye! śrī śrī jaya jagatprakāśamalla debaka dvasara rājakumāraka cūḍākaraṇa, tathi nānā deśa saño aneka guṇi loka abatāha, tẽ madhyapurīka loke pradyumnabijaya nāma nāṭaka sāju, sẽ ājñā bhela, tẽ nimitte ihāke bajauli.

naṭī: he prāṇanātha! se rājā na(fol. 3a)hi cihnaichia.

tahni rājāka baṃśābalī prabhṛti mahārājāka barṇanā[b] kahaichaño, sunara hoa.

naṭī: prāṇeśvara! kahala hoa.

---

[a] -caṃdrā-   [b] barṇṇanā

(...)

Of ruddy hue, [you're both] the god [Śiva's] wife and a maid;[4]
Your garb is red; you roam about on [your] peacock.[4]
[Your] most excellent arms are tender, like young shoots,
[Though] they carry lance and spear. You are the three world's source.
Dweller of the fig, you shine with drops [of dew]
Early in the morning: a very splendid thought.
[Thus] says Jagatprakāśa, now your servant.[5]
I will join Cāndaśekharasiṃha; that's my hope.

(Verse for the scattering of flowers)

Homage to Śambhu, attended by Bhavānī,
The cause of the world's coming forth, abiding and passing away,
The chief lord of the Gaṇas, fulfiller of wishes,
Whose eyes are like sun, moon and [god of] fire.[6]

My dear, enough of these long, drawn-out details!

(The actress appears to the sound of the poṃgā.)

My lord, my obeisance. Why have you called?

My dear, the son of the solar race, the jewel of all rulers, the king of kings, His Majesty King Jagatprakāśamalla, has issued a command.

My lord, for what reason has he issued a command?

My dear, [the reason is] the hair-cutting ceremony of the second prince of His Majesty King Jagatprakāśamalla. Many learned people from different countries have come here, and so the people of Madhyapurī[7] are to prepare the play entitled Pradyumna's Victory. That's the command issued, and that's the reason I called you.

Lord of [my] life, I do not know this king.

From this king's genealogy and such I'll describe the great king. Kindly listen.

Lord of [my] life, kindly speak.

(sūtrokti rājabarṇanā[a])[8]
(gaurī. co.)
rabikula upajala ehi saba narapati
nānyadeba nṛpa jāne
gāṅgadeba suta narasiṃhadeba bhūpa
rāmasiṃhadeba bujha jñāne //
tahnika nandana thika bhavasiṃhadeba punu
karmasiṃhadeba rāya
bhūpati harasiṃha nepāla āyala ehe
ballālasiṃhaka bhala kāya //
debamala nāgamala aśokamalladeba
jayasthitimala kara thīra
tanu suta jakṣamalla rāyamala sundara
bhuvanamalla baḍa bīra //
ekara kumāra thika prāṇamalladeba
biśvamala biśva bakhāna
trailokyamalla nṛ(fol. 3b)pa nṛtyanātha sama
jagatjyoti guṇaka bakhāna //
nareśamalladeba dharama murati eka
tahni tula nahi bhūpa āna
tahni suta nṛpa bara jagataprakāśamala
puna jayajitāmitra jāna //
jagatacaṃda kabi baraṇi baṃśābalī
manukha[b] uttara kata gela
tribhubana janani praṇabi[c] pāvae tahni

japa tapa ehi lāi bhela //

---

a barṇṇanā   b manuka[9]   c praṇati[10]

(The description of the king, rendered by the stage manager)

(...)

All the kings following sprang from the solar race:
King Nānyadeba is known [well].
Gāṅgadeba was [his] son. King Narasiṃhadeba [followed].
Rāmasiṃhadeba for his wisdom is known.
His son, again, was Bhavasiṃhadeba.
[Then followed] King Karmasiṃhadeba.
King Harasiṃha came to Nepal.
Ballālasiṃha was of commanding stature.
[Then came] Debamalla, Nāgamalla and Aśokamalladeba.
Jayasthitimalla with strong hand [ruled].
His son was Yakṣamalla, [Then came] the comely Rāyamalla.
And the great hero Bhuvanamalla.
His son was Prāṇamalladeba.
Biśvamalla was famous all over the world.
King Trailokyamalla was like the lord of dance.
Jagajjyotir[malla] is praised for [his] merits.
Nareśamalladeba was unique, the very form of order;
No other king equals him.
His son is the best of kings, Jagatprakāśamalla.
His son in turn is known as Jayajitāmitra.
I, the poet Jagaccanda, have set forth this genealogy.
How many excellent men[9] have died!
I bow down[10] to the mother of the three worlds to gain [further]
such ones;
For this are [my] recitation and austerities.

he priye! ehana śrī śrī jaya jagatprakāśamalla deba.

naṭī: he nātha! śrī śrī mahārāja hame cihnala, ataḥpara tahni rājāka madhyapurīka barṇanā[a] hame karaichaño, ihāña abadhāna hoa.

sūtra: priye! kahu.

(naṭyukta deśabarṇanā[a])
(bhathyārī. co.)
bīra jana saba basa madhyapura thāne
āna na nagari samāne //
debihi pūja(fol. 4a)ya loke raṇasiddhi lāyi
bhagatihi kahi nahi jāyi //
puruba paścima diśa utara dakṣīṇa
sehi tura deśa kathīna //
badhu gaṇa komala mukha bhela caṃdā
sabakā[11] dekhi ānandā //
jagataprakāśa bhana nagara bakhāna
caṃdaśekhara sehe[12] jāna //

he nātha! ehana madhyapurī thika.

sūtra.: priye! satya.

he priye! etahi khaneka biśrāma karaba.

naṭī: nātha! abaśya

sūtra.: he priye! kichu kahaba, sunu.

naṭī: prāṇaballabha! kahu.

bhāryayā sahitaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ pradyumnena balīyasā /
praviṣṭo naṭanāgāre sa bhrātṛdamano hataḥ //
prabhāvatī hṛtā yena vāgmaṭībạndhamokṣaṇam[b] /
sūryaketuṃ samāsādya candrāvatyā[c] vivāhakṛt //
paścāt sarvaṃ[d] militvā tu dvārikāṃ prayayau hariḥ //

---

a -barṇṇanā   b -baṃdhamokṣaṇaṃ   c caṃdrā-   d sarvvaṃ

My dear, such is His Majesty King Jagatprakāśamalla.

My lord, now that I have learned of His Majesty, the great king, I would like to give a description of Madhyapurī of the king's [realm]. Give [me] your attention.

My dear, speak.

> (A description of the country, rendered by the actress)
>
> (...)
>
> Brave are all the people who live in Madhyapura.
> No other city equals [it].
> The people pay the goddess worship for success in war.
> [Their] devotion cannot be described.
> In east, west, north and south
> A country like this is hard to find.
> The tender faces of the women are [like] the moon:
> To see them all is a delight.[11]
> [Thus] Jagatprakāśa renders a description of the town.
> Candaśekhara knows it [too].[12]

My lord, such is Madhyapurī.

My dear, in truth.

My dear, let's rest here awhile.

My lord, certainly.

My dear, there's something I want to say. Listen.

Dearest,[13] speak.

> With wife and passing strong Pradyumna has Kṛṣṇa entered the playhouse. The brother's subduer[14] was slain [by the man] Prabhāvatī was abducted by. [Then was] the loosening of the Vāgmatī's bonds. [Pradyumna,] visiting Sūryaketu, married Candrāvatī. Thereafter

(fol. 4b) he priye! śrī śrī jaya jagatprakāśamalla debaka ājñāña hame pradyumnaka kachini karaba gae, tohe prabhābatīka kachinī karu gae.

naṭī: svāmī! je ihāka ājñā sehe karaba.

(nissāra)
(āsāvarī. dvamāna)
kāmini kāchaha prabhābati re
padumana hoeba mori mati re //

(prathamakoṇe)

he priye! torita kāchaba gae.

naṭī: prabhu! calu.

(dvitīyakoṇe)

naṭī: he nātha! śīghra bijaya karu.

sūtra.: priye! calu.

lu 1

My dear, by command of His Majesty King Jagatprakāśamalla I'll now put on the costume of Pradyumna. You put on the costume of Prabhāvatī.

My lord, I'll do as you command.

(Exit [song])

(...)

Loving woman, dress yourself up[15] as Prabhāvatī,
I'll be Pradyumna; that's my mind.

(In the first corner)

My dear, let's be quick about dressing.

My lord, come.

(In the second corner)

My lord, it please you to go quickly.[16]

My dear, come.

[End of] Scene 1

(kṛṣṇa rukmiṇī satyabhāmā pradyumna uddhaba akrūra
[sārikā] prabeśa)

(kahnala. jati.)
madhuripu hame ābe parabeśa delā
rukuminī satyabhāmā duhu saṃga bhelā //
madana sarūpa thika paradumna kāya
udhaba sahita jana sebaka mo(fol. 5a)ra sāya //
surata sāgari sakhi sahaja geyāna
beśa binyāsa bidhi sabahi sujāna //
jagataprakāśa bhana debi caraṇa sāra

cā̃daśekharasiṃha karaha bicāra //

he rukminī satyabhāmā pradyumna uddhaba akrūra sārikā!
hama kichu kahaichaño, se sunu.

sarve[a]: parameśvara! ājñā karu.

daityasya nāśāya kṛtāvatāro[b]
bhaktānukampī vividhaprakāraiḥ /
kṛṣṇaḥ praviśyāmi[19] ca maṅgalārthaṃ[c]
nāṭyābhidhānaṃ naṭalokavandyam[d] //

he loke! etādṛśa kṛṣṇa hame.

sarve[a]: īśvara! ihāña jukti[22] ājñā kahala.

rukmi.: he trailokyanātha! hamahu kichu binatī karaba, sunala hoa.

kṛṣṇa: rukminī! kahu.

pativratā rukmiṇī[e] sā patipriyahitaiṣiṇī /
vi(fol. 5b)śāmi. naṭaśālāṃ vai naṭalokapramāṇitām[f] //

---

a sarvve b kṛtātāvaro c maṃgalā- d -vaṃdyaṃ e rukminī
f -pramāṇitaṃ

(Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Pradyumna, Uddhaba, Akrūra and Sārikā enter.)

(...)

I, Madhuripu, have now entered,
Accompanied by [my] two [wives], Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā.
[This one] is by true nature Madana but has Pradyumna's body.
Uddhaba and he by his side[17] are servants in my ward.
The confidante is an ocean of beauty;[18] inborn skill she has
And knows all ways well of donning clothes and jewelry.
[Thus] says Jagatprakāśa, who [worships] as essence the feet of the goddess.
Think on Cāndaśekharasiṃha.

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Pradyumna, Uddhaba, Akrūra and Sārikā!

I'd like to say something. Listen.

Supreme lord, speak.

Down I've come to kill a Daitya.
To devotees I show in many ways compassion.
And for blessing's sake I enter as Kṛṣṇa
[The house] named for the play,[20] to be praised by actors[20] and the people.[21]

My people, such am I, Kṛṣṇa.

Lord, you have spoken aptly.

Lord of the three worlds, I too would like to say something.

Kindly listen.

Rukmiṇī, speak.

I, Rukmiṇī, loyal to husband and wishing what's dear and good for my husband, do enter the actors' house, respected by actors and the people.[21]

he nātha! ehana ihāka patnī rukminī hame.

kṛ.: priye! satya.

satyabhāmā: he prāṇaballabha! hamahu kichu gocara karaba, sunu.

kṛṣṇa: satyabhāmā! kahu.

satyabhāmā surūpāḍhyā yauvanālayaśālinī /
praviśāmi naṭāvāsaṃ patyur atyantavallabhā //

he prāṇapriya! ihāka ballabhā satyabhāmā nāme hame.

kṛ.: prāṇapriyā! satya kahala.

pradyumna: he pitā trailokyanātha! hamahu binati karaichaño, sunu.

kṛ.: putra! kahu.

pradyumnanāmā prathitaḥ pṛthivyāṃ
śrīkṛṣṇapādārpitacittavṛttiḥ /
daityendramardī suvicāradakṣo
nāṭyālayaṃ yāmi ca kṛṣṇasūnuḥ //

he tāta! etādṛśa ihāka (fol. 6a) putra pradyumna hame.

kṛṣṇa: putra! satya kahala.

uddhaba: he parameśvara! hamahu binatī karaichaño[a], abadhāna hoa.

kṛṣṇa: uddhaba! kaha.

vāsudevasya caraṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā harṣitamānasaḥ /
niviśe nāṭyasadanam[b] uddhavo 'haṃ susādaram[c] //

he trailokyanātha! ihāka sebaka uddhaba hame.

kṛṣṇa: Uddhaba! satya kahala.

---

[a] kahaichaño

[b] -sadanaṃ

[c] susādaraṃ

My Lord, such am I, your wife Rukmiṇī.

My dear, in truth.

Dearest, I also would like to say something about [my] role.[23]

Listen.

Satyabhāmā, speak.

> I, Satyabhāmā, rich in beauty, a housekeeper in youth's dwelling (?) and to my husband exceeding dear, do enter the actors' house.

Dearest, I am your dear [wife] named Satyabhāmā.

Dearest, you have spoken truly.

Father and lord of the three worlds, I too would like to say something. Listen.

My son, speak.

> Known by name on earth as Pradyumna,
> With the mind's workings turned towards Kṛṣṅa's feet,
> Crusher of the Daitya princes, furnished with clear reason,
> Kṛṣṇa's son, I do go into the playhouse.

Father, such am I, your son Pradyumna.

My son, you have spoken truly.

Supreme Lord, I too have something to say. Give [me] your attention.

Uddhaba, speak.

> I, whose heart joys to see the feet of Vāsudeva,
> Do enter with respect[24] the playhouse as Uddhaba.

Lord of the three worlds, I am your servant Uddhaba.

Uddhaba, you have spoken truly.

akrūra: he gobinda! hama kichu bijñāpana karaichaño.

kṛ.: akrūra! kaha.

yaduvaṃśasamudbhūtaḥ kṛṣṇapādārpitekṣaṇaḥ /
akrūro vaiṣṇavaśreṣṭho[a] viśāmi naṭasadmani //

he jadunātha! ihāka bhakta akrūra nāme hame.

kṛṣṇa: akrūra! yathārtha kahala.

sārikā: he rukminī satyabhāmā! hamahu kichu binatī karaichaño.

ubhe: (fol. 6b) sārikā! kahu.

sārikā nāma caturā sarvakāryaviśāradā[b] /
niviśe raṅgasadanaṃ rukmiṇīsahitā[c] mudā //

he rukminī satyabhāmā! ihāña lokaka sahacarī hame.

ubhe: sārikā! satya.

kṛṣṇa: he rukminī satyabhāmā prabhṛti loke! manā eka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[d]: īśvara! je ājñā.

(biśrāma)

kṛṣṇa: he loke! citraśālā jāya rahaba gae.

sarve[d]: īśvara! ucita.

(nissāra)

(bihina parama mā. pahaḍiyā. kha.)

calaha citrasadane
jāyaba puraba mane
torita dekhaba ghare // (dhru.)

---

a -śreṣṭo b sarvva- c rukminī- d sarvve

Gobinda, I would like to make something known.

Akrūra, speak.

Born into the race of Yadu, with gaze fixed on the feet
of Kṛṣṇa,
I, Akrūra, most excellent Vaiṣṇava, do enter the actors' house.

Lord of the Yadu race, I am your devotee called Akrūra.

Akrūra, you have spoken true to fact.

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, I also would like to say something.

Sārikā, speak.

Sārikā by name, fair and skilled in all [my] duties,
I with joy do enter the stage hall with Rukmiṇī.

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, I am your companion.

Sārikā, in truth.

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and you others, let us rest a spell.

My lord, as you say.

(They pause.)

My people, let us go to the picture hall and [there] remain awhile.

My lord, gladly.

(Exit [song])

(...)

Come, to the picture hall
Let us go, let us [this] wish fulfill.
Soon we'll see the house. (Refrain)

(prathamakoṇe)

he loke! torāe citraśālā jāyaba, calu.

sarve[a]: īśvara! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

sarve[a]: he trailokyādhipa! torita bijaya karu.

kṛ.: loke! calu.

(fol. 7a) lu 2

(kṛṣṇādi daba. duṃ)

(prathamakoṇe)

kṛ.: he loke! citramaṇḍapa torāya calu.

sarve[a]: trailokyanātha! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

he nātha! śīghra bijaya karu.

kṛ.: loke! calu.

kṛ.: he loke! pala eka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: trailokyanātha! je ichā.

(biśrāma)

uddhaba/akrūra: he īśvara! ihākā sarūpa barṇanā[b] karaba.

kṛ.: uddhaba akrūra! kahu.

(kṛṣṇabarṇanā[b])

(ati adabhuda mā. kedārā. pra.)

hari rūpa suṃdara baraṇi na jāya

---

a sarvve b barṇṇanā

(In the first corner)

My people, come, let us go quickly to the picture hall.

Lord, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord of the three worlds, it please you to go quickly.

My people, come.

[End of] Scene 2

(Kṛṣṇa etc. come on stage.)

(In the first corner)

My people, come on quickly to the picture hall.

Lord of the three worlds, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

My lord, it please you to go quickly.

My people, come.

My people, let us rest awhile.

Lord of the three worlds, as you wish.

(They pause)

My lord, we will describe your true nature.

Uddhaba, Akrūra, speak.

(Description of Kṛṣṇa)

(...)

Hari, [your] lovely form cannot be described.

syāma baraṇa tua kāya [//]
prabhu he sara //
soraha sahasa badhu rahae samāje
saba saṃge kīḍaya āje //
kabahu na choḍaya madhuripu bāśi
tribhubana tohahu bilāsi //
parakāsa bhana cā̃da(fol. 7b)śekharaka āse
duhu jana jananika dāse //

he prabhu! ihāka barṇanā[a] kateka kahaba.

kṛ.: uddhaba [akrūra]! yathārtha kahala.

pradyumna: he tāta! hamarā sabahikā samudra tīra jāeba, ājñā dioa[27].

kṛ.: he putra! jahane[28] ichā.

pradyu.: tāta! hamara praṇāma.
he uddhaba akrūra! samudra tīra jāeba.

ubhau: pradyumna[29]! calu.

(nissāra)
(niradhana kara saño mā. valāli. co.)
sāgara tirahi mori gae kahu saṃge
ehi ati abhimata hamarā raṅge //

(pratha.)

pradyu.: he uddhabha akrūra! torāe samudra tīra jāeba.

sarve[a]: pradyumna! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

sarve[a]: he kṛṣṇanaṃdana! torāe bijaya karu.

pradyu.: loke! calu.

---

[a] sarvve

In hue your body's dark.
O lord with the reed(s) (?),[25]
Wives are in [your] circle sixteen thousand,
And today [with you] they're sporting all.
Madhuripu never lays his flute aside.
You're the Enjoyer in the three worlds.
[Thus] says Prakāśa, whose hope is in Cāndaśekhara.[26]
Both are servants of the mother [of the world].

Lord, how much [more] we would say in describing you!

Uddhaba, Akrūra, you have spoken true to fact.

Father, we'll go to our seashore, give [us but] your leave.

My son, as you wish.

Father, my obeisance.

Uddhaba, Akrūra, let us go to the seashore.

Pradyumna, come.

(Exit [song])

(...)

Together we turn towards the seashore (?).[30]
This is much desired for our pleasure.

(In the first corner)

Uddhaba, Akrūra, let's go to the seashore quickly!

Pradyumna, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Son of Kṛṣṇa, it please you to go quickly.

My people, come.

rukmi.: he sārikā! tāṃbūla sītala pā(fol. 8a)nī laya ānu.

sāri.: svāmini! abaśya.

(pari. piṃ)

kṛ.: he rukminī satyabhāmā! anyatra jāe rahaba.

ubhe: nātha! bhala.

lu 3

(mahendra[damana] kachapa śaṅkha rāṇī sakhī śukra śiṣya prabeśa)

(deba kaṃṭaka mā. rājavijaya. pra.)

mahendradamana hame dānaba bīra
mori nāri taruṇī jānalahu hīra //
kachapāsura tohe ati baḍa jñānī
punu ehi eka dhira śaṃkhāsura jānī //
daitaka purohita śukrācārya tohe
bahubidhi bāni kahi tua śiṣya mohe[a] //
jagataprakāśa bhana dayita prabeśe
cā̃daśekhara[b] mili nāśaba kaleśe //

mahendra.: he priye bhrātā śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura śukrācārya! hama kichu kahaba, sunu.

īśaprasādāt surarā(fol. 8b)javandyas[c]
trailokyaratnasya sukhopabhoktā /
nāmnā mahendradamanaḥ pareṣāṃ
hantā praviśyāmi[19] naṭālayaṃ ca //

he loke! etādṛśa mahendradamana nāma hame.

sarve[d]: daityarāja! jukti kahala.

rāṇī: he prabhu! hama kichu kahaichaño, sunara hoa.

---

a tohe[32] b cāda- c -vaṃdyas d sarvve

Sārikā, bring some betel and cool water.

Yes, my lady.

(She exits, circling [the stage].)

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, let us go elsewhere and stay [there].

My lord, good.

[End of] Scene 3

(Mahendradamana, Kachapa, Śaṅkha, the queen, Śukra and [his] pupil enter.)

(...)

I am the Dānava hero Mahendradamana.
My young wife is a diamond,[31] I did perceive.
Kachapāsura, a very great wise man you are.
Śaṅkhāsura, again, I know is uniquely firm.
You are the Daityas' priest, Śukrācārya;
Holding varied discourse, your students you do baffle.[32]
[Thus] Jagatprakāśa describes the entrance of the Daityas.
Joined up with Cāndaśekhara I'll do away with suffering.

My dear, my brothers Śaṅkhāsura and Kachapāsura, Śukrācārya, I'd like to say something. Listen.

> As he whom by the grace of the Lord [even] the king of gods must honor, who tastes the joys of the three worlds' jewel and takes the life of foes, I do enter the actors' house, Mahendradamana by name.

My people, such am I who am called Mahendradamana.

Daitya king, you have spoken aptly.

My lord, I would like to say something. Kindly listen.

mahe.: priye! kahu.

danurājasya mahiṣī vallabhā priyavādinī /
svāmibhaktiratā[a] nityaṃ paśyāmi naṭanālayam[b] //

he prabhu! ehana ihāka patnī hame thikī.

mahe.: priye! satya.

śaṃkhā.: he bhrātā mahendradamana! hamara binatī sunu.

mahe.: śaṃkhāsura! kahu.

bhrātuḥ sadā priyakaro devānāṃ bhayadāyakaḥ /
śaṅkhāsuro[c] mahāvīryo mudā yāmi naṭālayam[b] //

he bhrātā! ihāka ājñākārī hame eha(fol. 9a)ne thikahu.

mahe.: bhrātā! satya.

kachapa: he daityarāja! hamahu bijñāpana karaba, sunu.

mahendra.: kachapa! kahu.

mahendradamanasyāhaṃ priyabhrātā mahābalī /
viśāmi naṭanāgāraṃ kacchapo[d] 'tīvabhīṣaṇaḥ //

he danujaśreṣṭha! etādṛśa ihāka ājñākārī kachapa nāme hame.

mahendra.: kachapa! yogya kahala.

śukra: he bāṇātmaja! hamara bacana sunu.

mahe.: purohita[e]! ājñā kahala hoa.

bhṛguvaṃśasamutpannaḥ śukro nāma mahātapāḥ /
viśāmi raṅgabhavanaṃ nānāsukhapradāyakam[f] //

he bāṇātmaja! etādṛśa ihāka purohita śukrācārya hame.

mahendra.: śukrācārya! yathārtha kahala.

śiṣya: he guru! hamara kichu binatī sunala hoa.

---

[a] -bhakta-[33]
[b] -ālayaṃ
[c] śaṃkhā-
[d] kachapo
[e] prohita
[f] -dāyakaṃ

Dear one, speak.

The senior queen of the demon king, beloved, of sweet speech,
Intent on devotion[33] to husband always, I look upon the
playhouse.

My lord, such am I, your wife.

My dear, in truth.

Brother Mahendradamana, listen to my words.

Śaṅkhāsura, speak.

Obliging always to brother, into gods instilling fear,
I, the very brave Śaṅkhāsura, go into the actors' house
with joy.

Brother, such am I, your obedient [brother].

Brother, in truth.

Daitya king, I too would like to make something known. Listen.

Kachapa, speak.

Mahendradamana's dear brother, exceeding strong
And passing grim, I, Kacchapa, do enter the playhouse.

Most excellent of the Daityas, such am I, your obedient [brother] Kachapa.

Kachapa, you have spoken fittingly.

Son of Bāṇa, listen to my words.

Kindly speak, O priest.

Great ascetic sprung from Bhṛgu's race, Śukra by name,
I do enter the stage hall, giver of manifold joys.

Son of Bāṇa, such am I, your priest Śukrācarya.

Śukrācarya, you have spoken true to fact.

O teacher, kindly hear my few words.

śukra: śiṣya! kahu.

(fol. 9b) śukrācāryasya śiṣyo 'haṃ gurupriyakaraḥ sadā /
niviśe nāṭyasadanaṃ duḥkhināṃ duḥkhamokṣakam[a] //

he guru! ehana ihāka śiṣya hame.

śukra: bhala kahala.

bīlāsinī: he daityarāṇī! hamara gocara sunu.

rāṇī: bilāsinī! kahu.

daityarājasya mahiṣī tasyā vacanapālitā /
viśāmi raṅgabhavanaṃ nānākautukadāyakam[b] //

he daityarāṇī! ihāka priya sakhī hame.

rāṇī: sakhī! bhala kahala.

mahendra.: he loke! khana eka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[c]: daityanātha! bhala ājñā kahala.

(biśrāma)

mahendra.: he loke! rudradhārā tīrtha jāe kahu tapasyā karaba gae.

sarve[c]: mahārāja! tapasyā karae bujhie.

(mahendrā(fol. 10a)di nissāra)

(jata aparādha mā. mālaśrī. co.)

rudradhārā jāe basabahi suthāma[d]
karabahu hame tapa jāe biśarāma //

(prathama.)

mahe.: he loke! torāña rudradhārā jāe[ba].

sarve[c]: mahārāja! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

---

[a] -mokṣakaṃ [b] -dāyakaṃ [c] sarvve [d] suthāne

Speak, my pupil.

As Śukrācarya's pupil, obliging always to teacher,
I do enter the playhouse, the freer of sufferers from suffering.

O teacher, such am I, your pupil.

You have spoken well.

O Daitya queen, hear about my role.

Loose woman, speak.

[She] is the Daitya king's senior queen; towards her
[I had best] hold [my] tongue.
I do enter the stage hall, giver of much diversion.

O Daitya queen, I am your dear companion.

Companion, you have spoken well.

My people, let us rest awhile.

O Daitya lord, you have ordered well.

(They pause.)

My people, I shall go to a place of pilgrimage on the Rudradhārā [River] and practice [there] austerities.

Yes, great king, you should practice austerities.[34]

(Exit [song] of Mahendradamana etc.)

(...)

Let us go to the Rudradhārā to a place fit to stay;
Having reached a spot to rest (?),[35] we'll practice [there]
austerities.

(In the first corner)

My people, let us go quickly to the Rudradhārā.

Great king, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

śukra: he bāṇātmaja! tapasyā betireke trailokyādhipati nahi hoyate, tannibaṃdhana rudradhārā gae tohe loke tapasyā karu.

mahendra.: he śukrācārya! ihāka bacana pramāṇa, hamara praṇāma, bijaya karu.

śukra: he śiṣya! apana sthāna jāya[ba], calu.

bāsu[36]: śukrācārya! bijaya karu.

(śukra da. piṃ)

mahendra.: he priye! tohe loke antaḥpura rahu gae.

ubhe: nātha, abaśya, hamara praṇāma.

(rāṇī da. piṃ)

mahendra.: he śaṃkhāsura (fol. 10b) kachapāsura! torāña tapasyā karu gae.

ubhau: bhrātā! calu.

lu 4

(kṛṣṇādi pa. duṃ)

he priyā loke! khaneka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: prāṇeśvara! je ichā.

[kṛṣṇa:] he rukminī saṭyabhāmā! toha duhuka kānti dekhi kahu hamara citta sthira nahi hoyichia, tẽ kichu kahaba, se sunu.

ubhe: prabhu! ājñā kahala hoa.

(kṛṣṇokti śṛṃgāra)
(hari mukhi mā. śrī. co.)
mānini mukha bidhu jhāpara sāre
ī binu dekhi kahu kathina saṃsāre //
locana bāṇa mohi lāgala parāṇa
biśeṣa bhauha tāna kāmaka bāna //
daśahu duguṇa nakha kiṃśuka jāra

O son of Bāṇa, a person does not become ruler of the three worlds without austerities; therefore go to the Rudradhārā and practice [there] austerities.

O Śukrācārya, your words are [my] guide. My obeisance. It please you [now] to go.

My pupil, come, let us go home.

Śukrācārya, it please you to proceed.

(Śukrā exits from the stage.)

My dear ones, you remain in the harem.

Yes, my lord. My obeisance.

(The queen exits from the stage.)

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, let's be quick to practice austerities.[37]

Brother, come.

[End of] Scene 4

(Kṛṣṇa etc. enter, circling [the stage]).

My dears, let us rest awhile.

Lord of [my] life, as you wish.

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, when I see the loveliness of you both, my heart becomes unsteady.[38] Therfore I want to say something. Listen.

Lord, kindly speak.

(Love [song], rendered by Kṛṣṇa)

(...)

Proud women, the essence - your moon-faces - is hidden;
Hard it is to see the world without it.
The arrows of [your] eyes sit lodged in my life;
Kāma's arrows span [the bow of your] uncommon brows.
Twice ten nails make a net of kiṃśuka [blooms].

pada kara sārasa bāni amṛta sāra //

jagataprakāśa rasa ujvala bhāna
cā̃daśekhara teji mohi malāna //

(fol. 11a) he rukminī satyabhāmā! toha lokaka kānti bhāba kahi nahi hoyichia.

ubhe: he prāṇanātha! ī prapaṃca kīe? hamarā duhukā binatī sunara hoa.

kṛ.: prāṇapriye! kahu.

(rukminīsatyabhāmokti śṛṃgāra)
(suna kara bastu mā. korāva. pra.)

abalā alapa mati nāgara eka gati
sundara sumukha sura piyā
nāsikā rucira tua daśana dāḍima tula
rati raṅga ati rasiyā //
sarūpa nayana bhala khaṃjana caṃcala
uru duyi karali samāna
aneka jubati rasa mādhaba gāri lela
karu prabhu mohi madhu pāna //
hari binu kichuvana[39] thira nahi raha cita
jhakhaïte sehi pae dhyāna
ki bolaba hame pati tohe eka mora (fol. 11b) gati
āliṃgana karaha tarāna //
jagataprakāśa kaha caṃdraśekhara dhana
tohe mori jibaka adhāra
caṇḍi caraṇa mana niśi dina rāgathu
sehi deha mori hṛdi hāra //

he prāṇaballabha! ihāka barṇanā[a] hama taha kahi [nahi[40]] hoa.

---

a barṇṇanā

[Your] feet and hands are lotus [blooms], [your] voices
ambrosia essence.
Jagatprakāśa describes love's temper splendidly.
Without Cāndaśekhara I wither away.
O Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, I cannot describe your loveliness.

Lord of [my] life, why this base flattery? Kindly hear what we both have to say.

Dearest ones, speak,

(Love [song], rendered by Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā)
(...)
Few wits [we] women have. Beloved, [you are my] only refuge.
Comely and fair of face, the favorite [you are] of the gods.
Your nose is lovely, your teeth like pomegranate [seeds].
In love's sport [you're] impassioned highly.
By nature [your] eyes are lively, [like] true wagtails.
Like banana tree trunks are [your] two thighs.
The juice of many girls, O Mādhava, you've pressed out;
Lord, drink my honey [too].
Without Hari is my heart unsettled.[39]
[I] lament, with concentration only on him.
What [more] shall I say? Lord, you alone are my refuge.
Embrace and protect [me].
[Thus] says Jagatprakāśa. Candraśekhara, you are the wealth
And foundation of my life.
To Caṇḍī's feet let thoughts be turned both day and night.
Give him [back] to me, the necklace of my heart.

Dearest, the description of you cannot be put into words by us [any better].

kṛ.: he priyā loke! khaneka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: nātha! yathocita.

(pari. piṃ)

lu 5

(prabhābatī hemabatī premabatī prabeśa)

(cāṃpā nāgeśara mā. gujjarī. astārā.)

bara dhani prabhābati parabeśa dela
hemabati rūpa bhala hema tūla bhela //
punu eka sājani premabati nāma
debi deha hamarā cita chala kāma //
mukulita jaubana parakata ābe
se dekhi mori deha ati ba(fol. 12a)ḍa tābe //
jagataprakāśa ehi para beśa gāve
cā̃daśekhara saño saṅga hama pāve //

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! hamara bacana sunu.

ubhe: prabhābatī! kahu.

prabhāvatī daityarājabhaginī mṛgalocanā /
niviśe lāsyasadanaṃ gaurīpādārpitekṣaṇā //

he hemabatī premabatī ! ehana prabhābatī nāme hame.

ubhe: prabhābatī! satya kahala.

hemabatī: he prabhābatī! hamara gocara sunu.

prabhā.: hemabatī! kahu.

prabhāvatīpriyatamā sevāyāṃ ca vicakṣaṇā /
niviśe naṭasadmākhyaṃ lokarañjitakārakam[a] //

he prabhābatī! etādṛśī tohara priya sakhī hemabatī

---

[a] -raṃjitakārakaṃ

Dear ones, let us rest awhile.

Lord, as it pleases [you].

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

[End of] Scene 5

(Prabhābatī, Hemabatī and Premabatī enter.)

(...)

The very best maiden Prabhābatī has entered,
And Hemabatī, whose cast is like pure gold,
And, again, unique friend, by name Premabatī.
Before these maidens' bodies love's lust rose in my heart.
Half-bloomed youth now sees the light of day.
When I see them, my body burns quite wholly.
[Thus] Jagatprakāśa sings this entrance on.
I'd like to gain [re-]union with Cāndaśekhara.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, listen to my words.

Prabhābatī, speak.

As Prabhāvatī, gazelle-eyed sister of the Daitya king,
Do I enter the dance house, with eyes fixed on Gaurī's feet.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, such am I, called Prabhābatī.

Prabhābatī, you have spoken true.

Prabhābatī, hear about my role.

Hemabatī, speak.

As Prabhāvatī's dearest [companion], skilled in service,
Do I enter the famed actors' house, which makes the people pleased.

Prabhābatī, such am I, your dear companion, Hemabatī by name.

nāme hame.

premabatī: he prabhābatī! hamahu kichu kahaichia, (fol. 12b) sunala hoa.

prabhā.: premabatī! kahu.

premabatī viśālākṣī lokarañjanakāriṇī[a] /
viśāmi naṭavāsaṃ ca vismayotphullalocanā //

he prabhābatī! ehana ihāka priyatamā sahacarī hame.

prabhā.: premabatī! bhala kahala.

he hemabatī premabatī! daityarājāka darśana karaba, calu.

ubhe: prabhābatī! bijaya karu.

(nissāra)

(pahaḍi. co.)

sebā karaba hame mahendradamana pāse
i lāyi jāeba hame daita nṛpa pāse //

(pratha.)

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! torita bhrātāka sebā karaba gae.

ubhe: prabhābatī! calu.

(dvitī.)

ubhe: he priya sakhī! torāe bijaya karu.

prabhā.: hemabatī premabatī! calu.

lu 6

(fol. 13a) (mahendrādi da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

mahe.: he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! torita tapasyā karaya jāeba, calu.

ubhau: daityarāja! bijaya karu.

---

[a] -raṃjana-

Prabhābatī, I too would like to say something. Kindly listen.

Premabatī, speak.

As large-eyed Premavatī, pleaser of the people,
Do I enter the actors' house with eyes wide open in
wonder.

Prebhābatī, such am I, your dearest companion.

Premabatī, you've spoken well.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, come, let's pay a visit to the Daitya king.

Prabhābatī, it please you to proceed.

(Exit [song])

(...)

We will do service with Mahendradamana.
For this let us go to the Daitya king.

(In the first corner)

Hemabatī, Premạbatī, let ụs be quick and serve my brother.

Prabhābatī, come.

(In the second corner)

Dear companion, it please you to go quickly.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, come.

[End of] Scene 6

(Mahendradamana etc. come on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, come, let us be quick to practice austerities.

Daitya king, it please you to proceed.

(dvitī.)

ubhau: he danujeśvara! rudradhārā śīghra bijaya karu.

mahe.: bhrātā! calu.

mahe.: he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! pala eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhau: danujādhipa! abaśya.

(biśrāma)

mahe.: he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! śukrācāryaka bacana māni kahu
ī rudradhārā mahātīrtha baḍa pabitra sthāna, ehi sthāne
hamarā sabahi tapasyā karaba.

ubhau: hamarahu ehi ichā.

(tapasyā me)

(bane te mā. gaurī. co.)

he śiba paragata hoa tohe
te mori cita ati sohe //
e prabhu kabahu na tejaha mohi (fol. 13b) // (dhru.)
bhasama lepita tanu tore
caraṇa paṃkaja tua jore //
maṃdira masāna tua bhela
basaha upara dhira gamana dela //
parakāśa bhana harahi sāra
cã̄daśekhara thika hamarā hāra //

he īśvara! paragata hoa.

(pheka tuya, gāyana. piṃ)

(brahmā sanaka sanātana prabeśa)

(calu muni mā. rājavijaya. co.)

sanaka sanātana jāni leha jñāna
brahmā bisṇu maheśara abhedahi jāna //
tahni lāi bara deba deba parabeśa
harathu sabahika sādhaka kaleśa //

brahmā: he sanaka sanātana! hama kichu kahaichaño, sunu.

(In the second corner)

Danuja lord, it please you to hasten to the Rudradhārā.

Brothers, come.

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, let us rest awhile.

Danuja lord, certainly.

(They pause.)

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, let us obey the words of Śukrācārya.

This great place of pilgrimage on the Rudradhārā is a very sacred spot. On this spot let us practice austerities.

This is our wish too.

(Song of austerities)
(...)
O Śiba, may you appear.
From that my heart would greatly joy.
O Lord, never forsake me. (Refrain)
Your body is smeared with ashes.
Your feet are a pair of lotuses.
Your dwelling place is the burning ground.
Slowly you ride along on the bull.
[Thus] Prakāśa describes Hara's essence.
Cāndaśekhara is my necklace.

Lord, may you appear.

(They sit down. They go off [stage] singing.)

(Brahmā, Sanaka and Sanātana enter.)

(...)
Sanaka, Sanātana, know the [following] piece of lore:
Know there's no difference in Brahmā, Bişṇu and Śiba.
I'll grant [his] wish to him; I'll enter.
One should remove the suffering of all [one's] devotees.

Sanaka, Sanātana, I'd like to say something. Listen.

ubhau: tāta! kahu.

> yasya vaktrād vinikrāntā vedāś catvāra eva ca /
> so 'haṃ brahmā raṅgabhūmiṃ viśāmi sanakaiḥ saha //

he sanaka sanā(fol. 14a)tana! ehane brahmā hame.

ubhau: ihāña ehane thika.

sanaka: he bidhātā! hamara bijñāpana sunu.

brahmā: sanaka! kahu.

> sanako mānasaḥ putro brahmaṇaḥ sṛṣṭikāriṇaḥ /
> vedavedāṅgatattvajño[a] niviśe nāṭyamaṇḍapam[b] //

he tāta! ihāka putra sanaka nāme hame.

brahmā: putra! satya kahala.

sanātana: he pitā! hamara gocara sunala hoa.

brahmā: putra! kahu.

> sanātano mahāprajño japahomaparāyaṇaḥ /
> brahmātmajo munivaro bhaje 'haṃ naṭaketanam[c] //

he caturānana! etādṛśa ihāka mānasa putra sanātana nāme hame.

brahmā: sanātana! satya.

brahmā: he sanaka sanātana! muhūrta[d] eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhau: kamalāsana! je ā(fol. 14b)jñā.

(biśrāma)

brahmā: he sanaka sanātana[e]! mahendradamana daityarājāña rudradhārā tīrtha sthāna baḍa tapasyā kaela, mahādeba saṃtuṣṭa, kāmanāña tahnikāke bara deba, ṭatae calu.

---

[a] -tatva-
[b] -maṃḍapaṃ
[c] -ketanaṃ
[d] muhūrtta
[e] satāna

Father, speak.

I, Brahmā, from whose mouth the four Vedas flowed,
Do enter [now] on stage with Sanaka [and Sanātana].[41]

Sanaka, Sanātana, such am I, Brahmā.

Such you are indeed.

O Creator, listen to my words.

Sanaka, speak.

I, Sanaka, son in spirit of Brahmā, the Creator,
And one who knows the pith of Vedas and Vedāṅgas, do enter
the playhouse.

Father, I am your son called Sanaka.

My son, you have spoken true.

Father, kindly hear about my role.

My son, speak.

I, Sanātana, passing wise, devoted to the recitation
offering,
Son of Brahmā and best of munis, do enter the actors' house.

O four-faced one, such am I, your son in spirit called Sanātana.

Sanātana, in truth.

Sanaka, Sanātana, let us rest a moment.

O lotus-sitting [Brahmā], as you command.

(They pause)

Sanaka, Sanātana, the Daitya king Mahendradamana has practiced great austerities at the place of pilgrimage on the Rudradhārā. Mahādeba is satisfied. True to [Mahādeba's] desire I'll grant him a wish. Let us go there.

ubhau: ī yogya, bijaya karu.

(nissāra)

(dhvaya dhvabi mā. kauśika. pra.)

Mahendradamana kara śibaka sebā
te hame jāyaba baḍa thika debā //

(pratha.)

he sanaka sanātana! torāya bara deba, calu.

ubhau: haṃsayāna! calu.

(dvitī.)

ubhau: he prajāpati! śīghra bijaya karu.

brahmā: sanaka sanātana! calu.

lu 7

(mahendrādi gāyana. duṃ)

(brahmā daba. duṃ)

(prathama.)

brahmā: he sanaka sanātana! torāe rudradhārā jāyaba, calu.

ubhau: tāta! calu.

(fol. 15a) (dvitī.)

ubhau: he bhaktabatsara! bhakta janake bara debae torita bijaya karu.

bra.: sanaka sanātana! calu.

bra.: he mahendradamana! tohe mahādebaka baḍa bhakta kayala, te nimitte toharāke hame bara deba, je ichā se māga, brahmā biṣṇu mahādeba eka ātmā thika.

mahendra.: he padmāsana! hamara praṇāma.

namas te namas te jagatsṛṣṭikartre

'Tis fitting. It please you to proceed.

(Exit [song])

(...)

Mahendradamana does serve Śiba;

Therefore will I go [to him]. Great is the god [Śiba].

(In the first corner)

Sanaka, Sanātana, come, and I'll grant [him] quickly [his] wish.

Goose-riding [Brahmā], come.

(In the second corner)

Lord of creatures, it please you to go quickly.

Sanaka, Sanātana, come.

[End of] Scene 7

Mahendradamana etc. come [on stage] singing.)

(Brahmā comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Sanaka, Sanātana, come, let us be quick to go to the Rudradhārā.

Father, come.

(In the second corner)

O [Brahmā], tender towards devotees, it please you to make haste to grant [your] devotee [his] wish.

Sanaka, Sanātana, come.

Mahendradamana, you have shown great devotion[42] to Mahādeba.

Therefore I will grant you [your] wish. Ask what you will.

Brahmā, Bişņu and Mahādeba are one and the same person.

O lotus-seated [Brahmā], my obeisance.

Homage to you, homage to you, Creator of the world.

namas te namas te śaraṇyārtihartre[a] /
namas te namas te guṇaughapradātre[b]
namas te namas te varārātibhartre //

he bidhātā! trailokya je śastra acha takara abhedya śarīra hamarā hoa, ī bara magaichia.

brahmā: tathāstu, manuṣya chādi kahu.

he trailokyādhipa! ataḥpara hame apana sthāna jāichaño.

mahendrādi: he (fol. 15b) caturānana! hamara sāṣṭāṅga praṇāma, bijaya karu.

(brahmā nissāra)

he sanaka sanātana! brahmaloka jāeba, calu.

ubhau: tāta! bijaya karu.

(āsāvarī. co.)

mohi thika pitāmaha kaela saba prāṇa
sabahi muguti hoa jata jana prāṇa //

tẽ jānala hame saṃsāra asāra // (dhru.)

(pratha.)

brahmā: he sanaka sanātana! je kārya ayalāha se kayala, calu.

ubhau: tāta! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

ubhau: he tāta! śīghra bijaya karu.

bra.: sanaka sanātana! calu.

mahendra.: he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! manoratha pūrṇa[c] bhela,

---

[a] śaraṇyārtti- [b] -pradārtre [c] pūrṇṇa

Homage to you, homage to you, Remover of suppliants' pains.
Homage to you, homage to you, Bestower of many excellencies.[43]
Homage to you, homage to you, Sustainer of both the best and
the malign.

O Creator, may I have a body invulnerable to any weapon which exists in the three worlds. This favour I ask.

So be it, [but] with the exception of men.

King of the three worlds, after this I'd like to go home.

O four-faced [Brahmā], we bow down our entire body. It please you to go.

(Brahmā's exit [song])

Sanaka, Sanātana, let us go to Brahmaloka.

Father, it please you to proceed.

(...)

I[44] am the grandfather, I created all life.
May deliverance come to all, however many lives of men
there be.
Thus I realized: The world has no core. (Refrain)

(In the first corner)

Sanaka, Sanātana, the task I came for is performed. Come.

Father, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Father, it please you to go quickly.

Sanaka, Sanātana, come.

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, [my] wish is fulfilled. After this

ataḥpara apana ghara jāeba.

ubhau: trailokyādhipa! bijaya karu.

(da. piṃ)

(pratha.)

he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! torāe jāeba.

ubhau: bi(fol. 16a)jaya karu.

(dvitī.)

ubhau: he trailokyādhipa! suprabhā nagara bijaya karu.

mahe.: bhrātā! calu.

lu 8

(daityarāṇī da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

rāṇī: he līlābatī! torita antaḥpura calu.

lī.: mahārāṇī! calu.

[(dvitī.)]

lī.: he mahārāṇī! torita bijaya karu.

rāṇī: he līlābatī! jāba dhari mahārāja nahi abate tāba dhari e[ta]hi[45] rahaba.

lī.: mahārāṇī! je ihāka ichā.

(biśrāma)

(mahendrādi paisāraṇa duṃ)

(jāyaba śṛṃgāra pura mā. kāphī sāraṅgī. pra.)
bara pāvala hame āja
nija ghara jāyaba kāja //

(pratha.)

mahendra.: he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! torita ghara jāeba.

ubhau: daityarāja! ehane bujhie.

(dvitī.)

ubhau: he daitya(fol. 16b)rāja! abilaṃba calu.

let us go home.

Lord of the three worlds, it please you to proceed.

(They exit from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, let us go quickly.

It please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord of the three worlds, it please you to go on to Suprabhā.

Brothers, come.

[End of] Scene 8

(The Daitya queen comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Līlābatī, quick, let's go into the harem.

Great queen, come.

(In the second corner)

Great queen, it please you to go quickly.

Līlābatī, we'll remain here[45] till the great king comes.

Great queen, as you wish.

(They pause.)

(Mahendradamana etc. come [on stage] with an entrance [song].)

(...)
Today I've got my wish.
Let's now go home for duty's sake (?).

(In the first corner)

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, let's be quick to go home.

Daitya king, that we should [do].[46]

(In the second corner)

Daitya king, come on without delay.

ma.: bhrātā! calu.

mahe.: he priye!

rāṇī: he mahārāja! hamara praṇāma, etaya bijaya karu.

mahe.: priye! abaśya.

(biśrāma)

(prabhābatī hṅavayā menaṃ paisāraṇa duṃ)

(pratha.)

he hemabatī premabatī! bhrātā sabahika sebā karaba gae.

ubhe: prabhābatī! calu.

(dvitī.)

ubhe: he rājanandini! śīghra bijaya karu.

prabhā.: bayasyā! calu.

prabhā.: he daityarāja! hamara praṇāma.

mahe./rāṇī: he prabhābatī! etaya āu.

pra.: bhrātā! abaśya.

(śukra da. duṃ)

[(pratha.)]

he śiṣya! daityarājāka darśana karaba gae.

śiṣya: guru! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

śiṣya: he guru! śīghra bijaya karu.

śu.: śiṣya! calu.

he daityarāja!

mahe.: he śukrācā(fol. 17a)rya! hamara praṇāma.

śukra: cirajībi hoa.

śukra: he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! mahendradamanake rājyābhiṣeka karaba, sāmagrī laya ānu.

ubhau: śukrācārya! abaśya.

śukra: he mahendradamana! ihāke rājyābhiṣeka[a] karaba, ī

---

[a] rājyābhiśeṣa

Brothers, come.

My dear!

O great king, my obeisance. It please you to sit down here.

My dear, of course.

(They pause.)

(Prabhābatī enters, with her former song as entrance [song].)

(In the first corner)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let us serve all [my] brothers.

Prabhābatī, come.

(In the second corner)

Princess, it please you to go quickly.

My friends, come.

Daitya king, my obeisance.

Prabhābatī, come here.

Brother, certainly.

(Śukra comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

My pupil, let us pay a visit to the Daitya king.

Teacher, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

A teacher, it please you to go quickly.

My pupil, come.

Daitya King!

Śukrācarya! My obeisance.

Long may you live!

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, I'm going to perform the consecration of Mahendradamana as king. Bring the [necessary] implements.

Śukrācarya, certainly.

Mahendradamana, I shall consecrate you as king. Take your seat

siṃhāsane baisu.
mahe.: guru! abaśya.
śaṃ./kacha.: he śukrācārya! ī sāmagrī liyo.
(mālako sāmagrī biya.)
(śukrokti rājyābhiṣeka)
(i boli boliyā mā. gujjarī. e.)
dānaba bhūpati tohe brahmā bara delā
tribhubana kehu nahi jīnaya bhelā //
trailokya ṭhākura bhela abhiṣeka leha
dvija deba sabake kichu dhana deha //
ābe jana prabhu bara tua mukha baṃkā
je ati mati kara na karaha saṃkā //

(fol. 17b) jagataprakāśa kaha debi deha dāna
cā̃daśekhara daya karu he tarāṇe //
śukra: he mahendradamana! ataḥpara trailokya ihāka basa bhela.
mahe.: ihāka kṛpāña kī nahi hoeta.
śukra: he mahārāja! hamake ājñā diyo, ghara jāyaba.
mahe.: śukrācārya! bijaya karu, hamara namaskāra.
śukra: he śiṣya! ghara jāyaba, calu.
śiṣya: guru! bijaya karu.
(hari bhaja mā. dhanāśrī, co.)
śukrācārya hame ābe jāeba mane
ānande dekhaba jehi tapobane //
(pratha.)
śukra: he śiṣya! tapobana jāyaba, calu.
śiṣya: guru! bijaya karu.
(dvitī.)

on this lion throne.

My teacher, certainly.

Śukrācārya, take these implements.

(They hand over the necessary implements.)

(The consecration song, rendered by Śukra)

(...)

Dānaba king, your wish has Brahmā granted you.
There's none [left] in the three worlds to subdue.
You've become the three worlds' lord; receive [now] the consecration.
Bestow a small bounty on all brahmans and gods.
Now, most excellent lord, [even] they bow their heads to you[47]
Who [otherwise] pretend they're highly shrewd; doubt [it] not.
[Thus] says Jagatprakāśa. Goddess, give me a gift:
Oh, save [me], give Cāndaśekhara [back to me].

O Mahendradamana, after this the three worlds are in your power.

Thanks to your kindness nothing will be lacking.[48]

O great king, give me your leave and I will go home.

Śukrācārya, it please you to go. My obeisance.

My pupil, come, let us go home.

Teacher, it please you to proceed.

(...)

I, Śukrācārya, now will go; [that's my] mind.
What there is in the hermits' grove I'll see with joy.

(In the first corner)

My pupil, come, let us go to the hermits' grove.

Teacher, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

śiṣya! tapobana jāyaba, calu.

śiṣya: guru! bijaya karu.[49]

mahe.: he loke! īśvaraka kṛ(fol. 18a)pāya trailokya rājya pāvala, ataḥpara ānanda karaba.

sarve[a]: trailokyādhipa! ī samaya bujhiya.

(ānanda me)
(timira malina mā. kauśika. co.)
atihi ānanda mora nirabhaya hiyā
puruba sukṛta kae ābe bhela piyā //

mahe.: he loke! āja etahu rahaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! yogya.

iti prathamāṅkaḥ

---

[a] sarvve

My pupil, come, let us go to the hermits' grove.

Teacher, it please you to proceed.

My people, by the grace of the lord I have attained mastery over the three worlds. After this I shall celebrate a [feast of] joy.

Lord of the three worlds, right now we should [do so].[50]

(...)

(Song of joy)

My heart is wondrous glad and free of fear.
I've done good works before, now the welcome [fruits]
have come.

My people, let us stay here today.

Great king, ['tis] well.

[End of] the first act

(atha dvitīyadivase)

(mahendrādi alaṃkāraṇa duṃhāya.)

mahe.: he loke! khana eka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! je ājñā.

(biśrāma)

mahe.: he loke! ekhane umā maheśvaraka kṛpāña hame trailokyādhipati bhela, tẽ parameśvarīka bhajana karaba.

sarve[a]: daityarāja! hama sabakā ehi bāṃchita.

(fol. 18b) (katae so mā. gaurī. pra.)

maheśa ghariṇī tohara pratāpe
jaga jini rāja saba mora bhela // (dhru.)
bhāba bhagati mora debī caraṇa gati
rāgathu sehi pae mati //
kharaga khatvāṅga ādi kara dhara māi
ehi saba baraṇi na jāi //
cauśaṭhi yogini saṅga debihi bihāra
jata jana karae nihāra //
jagatprakāśa nṛpa debi pada sāra
cā̃daśekhara mori hāra //

he loke! khaneka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! yogya.

prabhāba.: he bhrātā mahendradamana! gaurī pūjā karaya jāichia, ājñā diyo.

mahendra.: bhaginī! je ichā.

prabhā.: he bhrātā! hamara praṇāma.

he hemabatī premabatī! gaurīka pūjā karaya jāyaba, calu.

---

[a] sarvve

(Then on the second day)

(Mahendradamana etc. enter decked out.)

My people, let us rest awhile.

Great king, as you command.

(They pause.)

My people, now by the grace of Umā and Maheśvara I have become ruler over the three worlds. Let us therefore worship [our] Supreme Goddess.

Daitya king, this is the wish of us all.

(...)

Mistress of Maheśa's house, by your might
I subdued the world and the total kingship fell to me. (Refrain)
With my devotion I take refuge at the feet of the goddess.
May [my] mind be fixed on her alone.
The [world's] mother, whose hands hold sword, club and more:
They cannot be described in full.
With sixty-four Yoginīs does the goddess sport,
And gratifies so many men.
The essence for King Jagatprakāśa are the feet of the goddess.
Cāndaśekhara is my necklace.

My people, let us rest awhile.

Great king, ['tis] well.

Brother Mahendradamana, I'd like to go worship Gaurī, give me but your leave.

Sister, as you wish.

Brother, my obeisance.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, come, let us go worship Gaurī.

ubhe: rājakumārī! bijaya karu.

(nissāra)

(fol. 19a) (mālatī mā. āsāvarī. co.)

śaśadhara binu niśi kebala malāna
pati binu dhani bhela ekara samāna //
jāichaño ābe ati torāña //

(pratha.)

he hemabatī premabatī! torita jāeba, calu.

ubhe: rājanaṃdinī! calu.

(dvitī.)

ubhe: he priya sakhī! śīghra bijaya karu.

prabhā.: sakhī! calu.

(mahendrādi pa. piṃ)

he loke! anyatra jāya rahaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! abaśya.

lu 9

(nārada prabeśa)

(gujjarī. co.)

ayalāhu muni bara nārada soti
bāsu mora śiṣya guṇi karaṇa chala moti //

nāra.: he bahbāśī bāsu[53]! hamara bacana sunaha.

bāsu[54]: munirāja! ājñā karu.

śrīkṛṣṇacaraṇāmbhoje sadā prītir garīyasī /
(fol. 19b) viśāmi naṭaśālāyāṃ nāradaḥ kalahapriyaḥ //

he bahbāśī bāsu! ehana parameśvaraka bhakta nārada hame.

bāsu[54]: munibara! satya kahala[b].

---

a sarvve   b kalaha

Princess, it please you to proceed.

(Exit [song])

(...)

A night without the moon is wholly drab.

the same is like a maid without consort.

I will go very quickly now.

(In the first corner)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, come, let us go quickly.

Princess, come.

(In the second corner)

Dear companion, it please you to go quickly.

Companions, come.

(Mahendradamana etc. exit, circling [the stage].)

My people, let us go elsewhere and [there] remain.

Great king, yes.

[End of] Scene 9

(Nārada enters.)

(...)

I have come, the best of munis, the soti [brahman][51] Nārada.

The lad's[52] my gifted pupil, a pearl to [my] ear.

Bahbāśī, lad, listen to my words.

King of munis, speak.

[My] very deep affection is ever for the lotus feet of
Kṛṣṇa.

I do enter the actors' house as Nārada, lover of strife.

Bahbāśī, my lad, such am I, worshiper of the Supreme Lord.

Most excellent muni, you have spoken true.

bāsu: he nārada munīśvara! hamara bacana abadhāna karu.

nārada: bāsu! kaha.

nāradasya muner bhakto bahvāśī bahucañcalaḥ[a] /
niviśe nāṭyasadanaṃ vāsur atyantakopadhṛk //

he munīśvara! ehana ihāka bhakta bahbāśī nāme hame.

nāra.: he bāsu! muhūrta[b] eka biśrāma karaba.

bā.: svāmi! yukti.

(biśrāma)

nā.: he bāsu! kalaha binā hamara mana santoṣa nahi, tẽ mahendradamanaka pāse jāe kahu kṛṣṇaka drāḍhāmaṇi haraṇa karāoba, calu.

bāsu: ihāka ehane buddhi thika, calu.

(fol. 2oa) (nissāra)

(bhairava. e.)

mahendradamana nṛpa bhetaba jāe
maṇi[c] tahni corāvata karaba upāya //

(prathama.)

he bāsu! torita mahendradamanaka thābe calu.

bāsu: svāmi! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

bā.: he munīśvara! śīghra bijaya karu.

nā.: bāsu! calu.

lu 1o

(sūryaketu rājā bhānumatī raṃbhābatī caṃdrābatī buddhisāra ugracaṇḍa līlābatī prabeśa)

---

a -caṃcalaḥ b muhūrtta c mahni

Lord of munis, Nārada, give heed to my words.

Speak, my lad.

Devotee of the muni Nārada, I, the highly sprightly lad
bahvāśin,
Able to endure exceeding rage, do enter the playhouse.

Lord of munis, such am I, your devotee, Bahbāśī by name.

My lad, let us rest a moment.

My lord, ['tis] well.

(They pause)

Without strife my mind is not content. Let's go, then, to Mahendradamana and make him steal Kṛṣṇa's drāḍhā jewel. Come.

. You are of this mind. Come

(Exit [song])

(...)

Let us go and meet the king Mahendradamana.
He'll steal the jewel: I'll find a way.

(In the first corner)

My lad, let us go quickly to Mahendradamana's.

My lord, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord of munis, it please you to go quickly.

My lad, come.

[End of] Scene 1o

(King Sūryaketu, Bhānumatī, Rambhābatī, Candrābatī, Buddhisāra, Ugracaṇḍa and Līlābatī enter.)

(vasanta. e. go.)

sūryaketu nāma rājā mohi parabeśa
bhānumati caṃdrābati basana subeśa //
sakhi he līlābati mantri buddhisāra
nāṭasadana para karaya bihāra //
niramara mati kaya karabahu sebā
hari teji mori nahi āna kehu debā //
jagataprakāśa nṛpa parabeśa bhāna
cā̃daśekhara mohi jānara parāna //[55]

(fol. 2ob) sūryaketu: he bhānumatī[a] raṃbhābatī caṃdrābatī buddhisāra ugracaṇḍa līlābatī! hamara bacana sunu.

sarve[b]: mahārāja! ājñā karu.

sūryaketunṛpatiḥ kṣitau varo
bhānuraśmisadṛśapratāpavān /
keśavasmaraṇadīkṣito 'py ahaṃ
nāṭyaśālam[56] upayāmi sundaram //

he loke! parameśvaraka bhakta sūryaketu nāma rājā hame.

sarve[b]: mahārāja! yathārtha kahala.

bhānumatī: he prāṇeśvara! hama kichu bijñapti karaba, se sunara hoa.

sūrya.: priye! kahu.

sūryaketoḥ priyā bhāryā pativrataparāyaṇā /
bhānumatī svāmibhaktā viśāmi raṅgamaṇḍapaṁ[c] //

he prāṇanātha! ihāka priyatamā bhānumatī nāme hame.

sūrya.: priye! samucita.

raṃbhāba.: he prāṇanātha! ha(fol. 21a)mara gocara sunala hoa.

sūrya.: priye! kahu.

---

a mānumatī b sarvve c-maṇḍapaṃ

(...)

[I'm] the king called Sūryaketu, [this is] my entrance.
Bhānumatī and Candrābatī do wear becoming clothes.
O Līlābatī, [you are] a confidante; Buddhisāra [is] the minister,
They have their entertainment in the playhouse.
I'll purify [my] heart and serve [Hari].
There is no other god for me but Hari.
[Thus] Jagatprakāśa describes the entrance.
Cāndaśekhara is, I've seen, [dear] to me [as] life.

Bhānumatī, Rambhābatī, Candrābatī, Buddhisāra, Ugracaṇḍa and Līlābatī, listen to my words.

Great king, speak.

As the king Sūryaketu, most excellent on earth,
With a heat (= power) like unto the rays of the sun,
And devoted to thoughts of Keśava,
I do enter the beautiful playhouse.

My people, I am the king called Sūryaketu, a devotee of the Supreme Lord.

Great king, you have spoken true to fact.

Lord of [my] life, I have something to make known. Kindly listen.

My dear, speak.

As Sūryaketu's dear wife, intent on being true to husband,
I, Bhānumatī, devoted to my lord, do enter the stage hall.

Lord of [my] life, I am your dearest one, Bhānumatī by name.

My dear, ['tis] so.

Lord of [my] life, kindly hear about my role.

My dear, speak.

rambhāvatī sūryaketoḥ priyā bhānumatīsamā /
patyā saha naṭāvāsaṃ viśāmi parayā mudā //

he svāmi! ihāka priyā raṃbhābatī nāme hame.

sūrya.: raṃbhābatī! satya.

[caṃdrā,:] he janaka jananī! hama kichu gocara karaichaño, abadhāna karu.

ubhau: putrī! kahu.

candrāvatī[a] sūryaketoḥ putrī paramasundarī /
viśāmi nāṭyabhavanaṃ nānākautukarañjitam //

he janaka janani! ehana ihāka putrī caṃdrābatī nāme hame.

ubhau: putrī! yathārtha.

mantrī: he mahārāja! hama kichu kahaba, se sunara hoab.

sūrya.: buddhisāra! kahu.

buddhisārasamākhyāto mantrī carcāparāyaṇaḥ[b] /
niviśe nayanānandaṃ raṅgamaṇḍapa(fol. 21b)sundaram[c] //

he mahāraja! etādṛśa ihāka mantrī ehane thika.

sū.: mantrī! satya.

līlā.: he candrābatī! hamara gocara sunu.

caṃ.: līlābatī! kahu.

līlāvatī candrāvatyāḥ[d] sakhī ca priyavādinī /
nānākalāsamāyuktā niviśe nāṭyaketanam[e] //

he caṃdrābatī! ehana līlābatī hame.

caṃdrā.: līlābatī! satya kahala.

ugracaṇḍa: he mahārāja! hamara kichu bijñapti sunara hoa.

---

[a] caṃdrā- [b] carccā- [c] -sundaraṃ [d] caṃdravatyāh [e] -ketanaṃ

I, Rambhāvatī, as dear to Sūryaketu as Bhānumatī,
Do enter with my lord the actors' house with utmost joy.

O lord, I am your dear one, Rambhābatī by name.

Rambhābatī, in truth.

Father, mother, I'd like to say something about my role.

Give heed [to me].

My daughter, speak.

As Candrāvatī, Sūryaketu's passing lovely daughter,
Do I enter the playhouse, which pleases with motley wonders.

Father, mother, such am I, your daughter named Candrābatī.

Daughter, [you have spoken] true to fact.

O great king, I'd like to say something. Kindly listen.

Buddhisāra speak.

As minister, Buddhisāra by name, keen on [political] debate,
Do I enter the loveliest stage hall, for the eyes a feast.

O great king, such am I, your minister.

Minister, in truth.

Candrābatī, hear about my role.

Līlābatī, speak.

I, Līlābatī, Candrāvatī's companion, speaker of winning words
And gifted with diverse arts, do enter the playhouse.

Candrābatī, such am I, Līlābatī.

Līlābatī, you have spoken true.

O great king, please hear my brief pronouncement.

sūrya.: koṭabāra! kahu.

ugracaṇḍo[a] nāma vīro duṣṭānāṃ nāśakaḥ sadā /
rājyacarcāparo[b] nityaṃ niviśe naṭaṣadmakam[c] //

he mahārāja! ihāka sebaka koṭabāra hame.

sūrya.: koṭabāra! satya kahala[d].

sūrya.: he loke! khana eka biśrāma karaba.

sarve.[e]: mahārā(fol. 22a)ja! ucita.

(biśrāma)

sūrya.: he loke! bāgmatī snāna karaba, tatae calu.

sarve[e]: mahārāja! bijaya karu.

(nissāra)

(dharaṇika mā. kocakarī kedārā. pra.)

bāgamatī karaba sanāne
hoetahu pūta śarīre
ehi eka abhilākha jāne
kichu nahi karabahu dhīre //

(pratha.)

he loke! torita bāgmatī snāna karaba gae.

sarve[e]: mahārāja! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

sarve[e]: he mahārāja! abilambe bijaya karu.

lu 11

---

a ugracaṃḍo b -carccā- c -sadmakaṃ d kalaha e sarvve

Chief of police, speak.

As the hero Ugracaṇḍa, the doom forever of all bad men,
And debating ever state affairs, I do enter the actors' house.

O great king, such am I, your servant and chief of police.

Chief of police, you have spoken true.

My people, let us rest awhile.

Great king, gladly.

(They pause.)

My people, we'll bathe in the Bāgmatī. Let us go there.

Great king, it please you to proceed.

(Exit [song])

(...)

Let us bathe in the Bāgmatī.
We'll [then] be pure in body.
Know this is [my] one desire.
Let's not be slow at all.

(In the first corner)

My people, let us be quick to go bathe in the Bāgmatī.

Great king, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Great king, it please you to go without delay.

[End of] Scene 11

(sūryaketvādi daba. duṃ)

(pratha.)

sū.: he loke! tīrtha snāna kae ātmā pabitra karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! ucita.

(dvitī.)

sarve[a]: he mahārāja! torita bāgmatī bijaya karu.

sūrya.[57]: loke! calu.

sūrya.: he (fol. 22b) loke! ī bāgmatī utpatti sthāna baḍa pabitra bhūmi sthāna dekhi kahu pariśrama byatīta karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! hama sabahikā ehane mana.

(biśrāma)

sūrya.: he loke! ī pabitra jala snāna karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! hamarā sabahikā ehi ichā.

(snāna me)

(vibhāsa. co.)

karaba maya dharama bihāra
pemahi parasaite niramala //
aśvamedha yajña phala punu pāvaya
rājasūya snāna karayite pāvaya //

he loke! jala krīḍā karayite baḍa pariśrama bhela, ataḥpara biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! je ājñā.

(biśrāma)

---

[a] sarvve

(Sūryaketu etc. come on stage.)

(In the first corner)

My people, let us bathe at the place of pilgrimage and cleanse [our] souls.

Great king, gladly.

(In the second corner)

Great king, it please you to go quickly to the Bāgmatī.

My people, come.

My people, this place where the Bāgmatī arises is a very holy place.

Let us look at [it] and make our weariness pass.

Great king, we all are of this mind.

(They pause.)

My people, let us bathe in this pure water.

Great king, we all have this desire.

(Bathing song)

(...)

I'll do my sacred duty with pleasure:
By touching [the water] devoutly, cleanse myself.
One gains [thereby] anew the fruits of aśvamedha rite;
One gains by bathing [even those] of rājasūya.

My people, we've grown very tired from playing in the water; after this let us rest.

Great king, as you command.

(They pause.)

(krabyāda paisā. duṃ)

(khura kāna mā. dhanāśrī. e.)

bipina jāeba hame tatahi ābe

apuruba dekhaba (fol. 23a) tathahu hame pāve //

(pratha.)

ī manohara bana bhramana kae nānā kautuka dekhaba.

(dvitī.)

bana gahbara gae dekhaba.

(soyāva 2 buluhuna juya.)

ī bana manohara sthāna, aḥ kateka phula aḥ nānā phala.

(hanoṃ soya caṃdrābatī khāne.)

aḥ kahena sundarī kanyā[a], trailokya bhitara hinake samāna nahi haute[58], ī strīratna mahendradamana puruṣaratna, hunake jogya, ī bārttā kahaba gae.

(daba. piṃ)

(pratha.)

ī bṛttānta rājāke kahaba gae.

(dvitī.)

torita jāeba.

(sūryaketu pani da. piṃ)

(pratha.)

sūrya.: he loke! hame apana sthāna jāeba.

sarve[b]: mahārāja! bijaya hoa.

---

a kaṃnyā -b sarvve

(Krabyāda enters with an entrance [song].)

(...)

I'll go now there into the woods.

Something new I'd like to see; I may find it there.

(In the first corner)

I shall see much of interest while walking in these charming woods.

(In the second corner)

I'll go deeper into the woods and look around.

(Continously looking around, he walks slowly on.)

These woods are a charming place. Oh, how many flowers!

Oh, many kinds of fruits!

(He looks around again and spies Candrābatī.)

Oh, what a lovely girl! In the three worlds there is none to compare with her. She is a jewel among women, Mahendradamana a jewel among men. [So] she is worthy of him. I'll go report this news.

(He exits from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

I'll go report this news to the king.

(In the second corner)

I'll go quickly.

(Sūryaketu etc. exit from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

My people, let us go home.

Great king, it please you to proceed.

(dvitī.)

sūrya.: he mantrī koṭabāra! caṃdrābatī sukumārī, to(fol. 23b)ha loka lahu lahu laya ānu, hame jāyaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja mahārāṇī! bijaya karu, hamara praṇāma.

(sūrya. bhānu. 2 da. piṃ)

mantrī: he rājakumārī! halu halu bijaya karu.

caṃdrā.: mantrī! calu.

lu 12

(prabhābatī hṅavayā menaṃ pai. duṃ)

(pratha)

he hemabatī premabatī! parameśvarī ārādhanā karaba, calu.

ubhe: priya sakhī! calu.

(dvitī.)

ubhe: he rājanaṃdinī! śīghra bijaya karu.

prabhā.: sahacarī! calu.

he hemabatī premabatī! khana eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: rājakumārī! yogya.

(biśrāma)

he hemabatī premabatī! gaurī ārādhanā karaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! ucita.

(gaurī ārādhanā me)

(hīnaka saga (fol. 24a) mā. rāmakarī. pra.)

gauri barana hema mukha śaśi jāni

kharaga khaṭvāṅga ādi chala tua pāni //
yogi sādhaka siddha dānaba kara sebā
gaṃdharba[b] kinnara nara sabahika debā //

---

a sarvve   b gaṃdharbha

(In the second corner)

Minister, chief of police, Candrābatī is [still] tender young.

Bring [her] quickly[59] [on behind]. We'll go on [ahead].

Great king, great queen, it please you to proceed. My obeisance.

(Sūryaketu, Bhānumatī and Rambhābatī exit from the stage.)

Princess, it please you to come quickly.[59]

Minister, come.

[End of] Scene 12

(Prabhābatī enters, with [her] earlier song as entrance [song].)

(In the first corner)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, come let us pay homage to the Supreme Goddess.

Dear companion, come.

(In the second corner)

Princess, it please you to go quickly.

Companions, come.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let us rest awhile.

Princess, ['tis] well.

(They pause.)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let us pay homage to Gaurī.

Prabhābatī, gladly.

> (Song of homage to Gaurī)
>
> (...)
>
> Gaurī, I know [your] color's gold, with face [silver like]
> the moon.
>
> Sword, club and more are in your hands.
>
> Yogīs, ascetics, perfected saints and Dānabas do serve [you].
>
> [You 're] the deity of all Gandharbas, Kinnaras and men.

kichuo na pāraba moya tua dhyāna
parakata hoaha karu he tarāne //

prabhā.: he parameśvarī! pragata hoe kahu darśana diyo.

(suhmakāva pheka tuyāva cone.)

(bhayānaka)

(bhūta preta piśāca vaya.)

(sājanayā mṛ mā. kāphī dhanāśrī. co.)

bhayaṃkara rūpa ehe bhūta pisāca
hamahu khāyata abe kācahi kāca //
upajala bhayamaya śarīra tarāsa // (dhru.)

(prabhābatī gyāñāva cone.)

(gaurī prādurbhāva)

(ala bhubana mā. bhairavī. co.)

parakata bhelahu bara de(fol. 24b)baya lāyi
bara dhani bhāba dekhi sahi nahi jāyi //

gaurī[60]: he jayā he bijayā! ī daitya bhaginī hamara bahuta sebā kayala, hinaka parikṣāña aneka trāsa dela, tathāpi bhakti nahi choḍalahni, tẽ nimitte bara deba.

ubhe: ihāña bhaktabatsala je bhakta kara takarāke bara daya bujhie.

gaurī: he prabhābatī! uttiṣṭhottiṣṭha.

(prabhābatī pani dāne.)

he jagajjananī! hamara sāṣṭānga praṇāma.

tribhuvanasukhadātrīṃ śatrusaṃhā[ra]kartrīṃ[a]
sakalaguṇavibhartrīṃ[b] lokam uddhārayantīm[c] /
bhavajaladhinimagnaṃ tārayantīṃ manuṣyaṃ
suramuninaravandyāṃ[d] viśvadhātrīṃ namāmi //

---

a -karttrīṃ b -bharttrīṃ c -yantīṃ d -vaṃdyāṃ

My concentrated thought on you I'll hold not one bit [more] (?.
Appear [to me]; oh, save [me].

O Supreme Goddess, appear [to me] and grant [me] a vision [of you].

(She remains quietly seated.)

([A mood of] terror)

(Bhūtas, pretas and piśācas come.)

(...)
These Bhūtas and Pisācas have forms to cause fright.
Us too they will now eat quite raw.
Terror has arisen in [my] fearful body. (Refrain)

(Prabhābatī shows fear [but] remains [in place].)

(Gaurī appears.)

(...)
To grant a wish I've [now] appeared;
This most excellent maid's devotion I no [longer] bear to see.

Jayā, Bijayā, this sister of the Daitya has done me great service. Many spasms of fright I've caused her by testing, and still she has not renounced devotion. Therefore I'll grant [her] wish.

You, who are tender to devotees, should [indeed] grant a wish to one who shows devotion.

Prabhābatī, arise, arise.

(Prabhābatī etc. stand up.)

Mother of the worlds, I bow down my entire body.

Giver of the three worlds' weal, destroyer of [her] foes,
Allotter of all excellencies, she who saves the world,
And helps the man sunk in the sea of being cross [it],
Sustainer of the universe, whom gods, munis and men should
praise, [her] I greet.

gaurī: varaṃ brūhi.

prabhā.: he girinaṃdini! ihāña antarjāmi, hame kī kaha(fol. 25a)ba.

gaurī: he prabhābatī! toharā mana hame jānala, kṛṣṇa nandana pradyumna nāma tohara svāmī hoeta, ataḥpara apana sthāna jāyichaño.

prabhā.: antarjāmi! bijaya karu, hamara namaskāra.

gaurī: he jayā bijayā! je kārya ayalāha se kayala, ataḥpara apana ghara jāyichaño.

ubhe: parameśvarī! je ājñā.

(u menaṃ dathunaṃ piṃ)

(prabhā. daba. piṃ)

he hemabatī premabatī! parameśvarīkā kṛpāña bara pāvala, caṃdrāgiri upara udyāna jāeba, calu.

ubhe: prabhābatī[61]! bijaya karu.

(pratha.)

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! jala snāna kaya kahu udyāna jāe rahaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! yogya.

(dvitī.)

ubhe: he prabhābatī! tvarita jala (fol. 25b) krīḍā karaba, calu.

lu 13

(sūryaketu bhānumati 2 śṛṃgāra bhābana pai. duṃ)

(asi kubaraya mā. āsāvarī. lāṃja.)
kāminī baraṇa dekhi mane na sahayi

kāma kiḍaba hame jāe

Name [your] wish.

O mountain daughter, you know [men's] hearts. What shall I say?

Prabhābatī, I know your mind. Kṛṣṇa's son called Pradyumna will be your husband. After this I'll go home.

Knower of hearts, it please you to go. My obeisance.

Jayā, Bijayā, the work I came for is done. After this I'd like to go home.

Supreme Goddess, as you command.

(They exit from the middle [of the stage] to the same song.)

(Prabhābatī [etc.] exit from the stage.)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, by the grace of the Supreme Goddess I have obtained [my] wish. Come, let us go to the park on Candrāgiri.

Prabhābatī, it please you to proceed.

(In the first corner)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let us bathe in the water, [then] go stay in the park.

Prabhābatī, ['tis] well.

(In the second corner)

Prabhābatī, come, let's be quick to play in the water.

[End of] Scene 13

(Sūryaketu, Bhānumatī and Rambhābatī enter with an entrance [song] in a mood of love.)

(...)

Loving women, my mind holds out no [more], having seen [your]
complexion.
Let us go and play the game of love.

yaubana samaya mori niphala jāe
tvarite jāeba mori kāya //

(pratha.)

sū.: he bhānumatī raṃbhābatī! śṛṃgāra gṛha jayāba, calu.

ubhe: prabhu! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

ubhe: he svāmi! tvarita bijaya karu.

sūrya.: bhānumati raṃbhābati! calu.

sū.: he bhānumatī raṃbhābatī! muhūrta[a] eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: nātha! ucita.

(biśrāma)

sū.: he bhānumatī raṃbhābatī! toha duhuka yaubana dekhi kahu hamara mana mugdha bhelāha, te manoraṃjanāya kichu kahaba, sunu.

u(fol. 26a)bhe: prāṇanātha! ājñā karu.

(sūryokti śṛṃgāra)

(ramaṇī karaya mā. rājavijaya. co.)

nāgari nagara para sāre
jata jubati saño tohe mori hāre //
rati guṇa guṇi thika nāri
mukha sarada śaśi bhelihu gāri //
uru dui gaja kara bhela
caṃcala locana dekhi saṃsaya gela //
jagataprakāśa nṛpa bāni
cā̃daśekharasiṃha eka paya māni //

he bhānumatī raṃbhābatī! toha duhuka rati guṇa kahi nahi pāraichia.

---

[a] muhūrtta

[Else] passes my time of youth in vain.
My body will soon disappear.

(In the first corner)

Bhānumatī, Rabhābatī, come let us go to the house of love.

Lord, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord, it please you to go quickly.

Bhānumatī, Rambhābatī, come.

Bhānumatī, Rambhābatī, let us rest a moment.

Lord, gladly.

(They pause.)

Bhānumatī, Rambhābatī, when I saw the youth of you two my mind became dazed. Out of this excitement there's something I'd like to say. Listen.

Lord of [my] life, speak.

(Love [song], rendered by Sūryaketu)

(...)

My loves, of the town you're the essence supreme.
Of many young women you [alone] are my jewels.
You women do excel in the excellencies of love.
[Your] faces came from pressing out the autumn moon.
[Your] two thighs are [like] the legs of elephants.
When I see [your] sprightly eyes all doubt is gone.
[These] are the words of King Jagatprakāśa.
I follow only Cāndaśekharasiṃha..

Bhānumatī, Rambhābatī, I cannot describe the excellencies of love of you two.

ubhe: he prāṇanātha! hame nirguṇī thikī, ehana kī kahaichia, hamara binatī sunu.

sūrya.: priye! kahu.

(bhānumatīrambhābatyukti śṛṃgāra)

(ki kahaba moe pahu mā. koci dhanāśrī. co.)

nāgara sili mukha budhi janu leha
tua lāi e(fol. 26b)hi duhu alapahi deha //
nāgara bara hara hamara kaleśa
rucira mukuṭa bhela basana subeśa //
tua kara komala kisalaya bhāsa
śaśadhara paragata tua mukha āsa //
jagataprakāśa nṛpa rasa sehe bhāna
cā̃daśekharasiṃha sama nahi āna //

he prāṇeśvara! hame alapa buddhi ihāka adhīna.

sū.: priye! samucita kahala.

he priye! khana eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: nātha! ucita.

(biśrāma)

he priye! antaḥpura jāe rahaba.

ubhe: nātha! abaśya.

(pa. piṃ.)

lu 14

(mahendrādi pari. duṃ)

mahe.: he loke! nānā deśa saño apūrba[a] bārttā abatāha, ehi thāma rahaba.

---

[a] apūrbba

Lord of [my] life, we have no excellencies. How shall we express such? Listen to our words.

My loves, speak.

(Love [song], rendered by Bhānumatī and Rambhābatī)

(...)

Love, take not [my] senses with your shining face;
To you [belong] these two small bodies.
Best love, our anguish take away.
[Your] crown is bright, [your] garb becoming.
Your hand feels soft, like a shoot.
[Like] the risen moon, your face [wakes[hope.
[Thus] describes King Jagatprakāśa love's temper.
None other equals Cāndaśekharasiṃha.

Lord of [my] life, we who are not so smart depend on you.

My loves, you have spoken well.

My loves, let us rest awhile.

My lord, gladly.

(They pause.)

My loves, let us go stay in the harem.

My lord, certainly.

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

[End of] Scene 14

(Mahendradamana etc. enter, circling [the stage].)

My people, from various countries fresh news will come.

Let us remain in this place.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! deśa carcā[b] cāha.

(krabyāda daba. duṃ)

(pratha.)

apūrba[a] (fol. 27a) kanyāka[d] bārttā daityarājake kahaba gae.

(dvitī.)

tvarita kahaba gae.

he trailokyādhipa! hamara praṇāma.

mahe.: he krabyāda! baḍa tvarita āyala, kī nimitta.

krabyā.: he trailokyādhipa! hame bana ghuri dekhaya gelāha, mṛgendraśikharaka gahbare sūryaketu rājāka putrī caṃdrābatī nāme strīratna dekhalāha, ihāña puruṣaratna thika, tẽ ihākā yogya, ī bārttā ihāke kahaya ayalāha.

mahe.: he krabyāda! dhanya 2, tohe svāmi bhakta.

he krabyāda! sūryaketu rājāke kahu: ihāka kanyā[e] hame bibāhārtha magaichia, ī hamara kārja karu.

krabyā.: mahārāja! ājñā pramāṇa, tatae jāeba, hamara praṇāma.

(daba. piṃ.)

(pratha.)

hame daityarājāka ājñā māni sūryaketu(fol. 27b)ke kahaba gae.

(dvitī.)

hame rāja kārya karaba.

(nārada hṅavayā menaṃ paisā. duṃ)

(pratha)

he bāsu! daityarājake jāeba, calu.

---

a sarvve b carccā c apūrbba d kaṃnyāka e kaṃnyā

Great king, deliberations concerning the country are necessary.

(Krabyāda comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

I'll report to the Daitya king the news of the incomparable girl.

(In the second corner)

I'll be quick to report.

O king of the three worlds, my obeisance.

Krabyāda, you have come very quickly. What is the reason?

O king of the three worlds, I was walking in the woods to have a look around. In the thicket of Mṛgendraśikhara I saw King Sūryaketu's daughter, Candrābatī by name, a jewel among women. You are the jewel among men. So she is worthy of you. I have come to tell you this news.

Krabyāda, many thanks. You are devoted to [your] lord.

Krabyāda, say to King Sūryaketu, "I ask for your daughter in marriage." Carry out this commission of mine.

Great king, [your] command is [my] guide. I shall go there. My obeisance.

(He exits from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

I'll obey the Daitya king's command and speak to Sūryaketu.

(In the second corner)

I'll carry out the king's commission.

(Nārada enters, with [his] earlier song as entrance [song].)

(In the first corner)

Come, my lad, let us go to the Daitya king.

bāsu: munirāja! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

bā.: he munirāja! torita bijaya karu.

nā.: bāsu! calu.

nā.: he daityādhipa!

mahendrādi: he debamuni! hamara praṇāma.

nā.: svasty astu.

mahe.: ī āsane baisu.

nā.: mahārāja! abaśya.

mahe.: he nārada muni! ākāśa mārge svarṇa[a] parbata[b] sani, tahni upara nīlamaṇi sani paścima diśa gelāha, ī kaona bastu thika, hamarā janāya diyo.

nāra.: he daityarāja! takara nimitta ayalāha, tẽ svarṇa[a] parbata[b] sani garuḍa, upara nīlamani sana o kṛṣṇa thika, dvārikā gelāha.

mahe.: he nārada muni! (fol. 28a) hamara abhāgya nahi cihnala, okara putra pradyumnañ hamara baṃdhu sambarāsura mārala, abaśya nahi chāḍaba, baṃdhu bairi leba.

nāra.: he daityanātha! toha taha māri nahi hoa, jakarā drāḍhāmaṇi pratāpe.

mahendra.: he munīśvara! je prakāre maṇi hamara hātha āba, se upāya kahu.

nāra.: he daityādhipa! i kañona kaṭhīna, rāhu pathāe caṃdra grāsa karāu, jakhane grāsa hoa takhane kṛṣṇa snāna kae japa sthāna raha takhane ihāñ pradyumnaka rūpa kae cori laya ānu, taduttara ihāka jita.

he daityarāja! ājñā dioba, hame jāeba.

---

a svarṇṇa b parbbata

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

King of munis, it please you to go quickly.

My lad, come.

O king of the Daityas!

O muni of the gods, my obeisance.

Hail [to you].

Take a seat here.

Great king, certainly.

Muni Nārada, [something] like a golden mountain with [something] like a blue jewel on top flew through the air towards the west. Make known to me what sort of thing that was.

O Daitya king, it is for this reason I have come, for that which was like a golden mountain was Garuḍa, and what on top was like a blue jewel was Kṛṣṇa. They were going to Dvārikā.

Muni Nārada, it's my bad luck I didn't recognize him. His son Pradyumna killed my kinsman Sambarāsura. I definitely won't let [him] get away with it. I'll avenge [my] kinsman.

Daitya lord, he to whom the power of the drāḍhā jewel belongs cannot be slain by you.

Lord of munis, tell me a way the jewel can come into my hands.

Daitya lord, what's hard about that? Send Rāhu and have him swallow the moon. Once it's swallowed, Kṛṣṇa will bathe himself and remain at the place of recitation. Then you assume the form of Pradyumna, steal [the jewel] and bring it here. After that you'll be victorious.

Daitya king, give me leave and I will go [now].

mahe.: munīndra! bijaya karu, hamara praṇāma.

nāra.: he bāsu! anyatra sthāna calu.

bāsu: muni! bijaya karu.

(nāra. da. piṃ)

(pratha.)

he bā(fol. 28b)su! baḍa kārya kaya ayalāha.

bā.: munīndra! calu.

(dvitī.)

bāsu: he munirāja! ihāña baḍa kalahapriya, nirarthaka parapīḍā karaicha, aḥ śīghra bijaya karu.

nā.: bāsu! calu.

mahe.: he loke! hame dvārikā jāyichaño, toha loka etahu raha.

sarve[a]: daityādhipa! bijaya karu.

(mahe. daba. piṃ)

(pratha.)

hame dvārikā jāeba.

(dvitī.)

torita jāeba.

śaṃkhā.: he kachapāsura! mahārāja jāba dhari nahi abate tāba dhari etahi rahaba.

kacha.: bhrātā! bhala.

(pari. piṃ)

lu 15

(kṛṣṇādi pa. duṃ)

he rukminī satyabhāmā! pradyumna adyāpi nahi āyala.

ubhe: parameśvara! ekhane abatāha.

---

[a] sarvve

Prince of munis, it please you to go. My obeisance.

My lad, let's set off for somewhere else.

Muni, it please you to proceed.

(Nārada exits from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

My lad, we've come [here], having accomplished [our] great task.

Prince of munis, come.

(In the second corner)

O king of munis, you're a great lover of strife and cause needless torment to others. Oh, it please you to go quickly.

My lad, come.

My people, I shall go to Dvārikā. You remain here.

King of the Daityas, it please you to go.

(Mahendradamana exits from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

I shall go to Dvārikā.

(In the second corner)

I'll go quickly.

Kachapāsura, we'll remain here until the great king comes back.

Brother, ['tis] well.

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

[End of] Scene 15

(Kṛṣṇa etc. enter, circling [the stage].)

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Pradyumna has not yet come.

Supreme Lord, he will come any moment.

(biśrāma)

(pradyumnādi pai. duṃ)

(bhopālī. (fol. 29a) pra. e.)
tāta caraṇa mati morā
jāe seoba hama torā
mana morā (ṭeka) //

(pratha.)

pradyu.: he uddhaba akrūra! pitāka darśana karae jāeba.

ubhau: pradyumna! calu.

(dvitī.)

ubhau: he pradyumna! torāya bijaya karu.

pra.: uddhaba akrūra! calu.

pradyumnādi: he īśvara! hamara praṇāma.

kṛ.: he pradyumna! etaya baisu.

sarve[a]: īśvara! abaśya.

(sāgarikā pari. duṃ)

sāga.: he rukminī! ī tāṃbūla śītala pāṇī liyo.

rukmi.: sāgarikā! diyo.

(rāhu caṃdra jantrana hayake. grāsa yāya.)

kṛ.: he uddhaba akrūra! caṃdra grāsa bhela, ī drāḍhāmaṇi tohe rakṣā kaya rahu, hama saba snāna karaba.

ubhau: īśvara! abaśya.

kṛ.: he loke! caṃdra grāsa bhela, snāna karaba.

(fol. 29b) sarve[a]: īśvara! ucita.

(tipana snāna yāya.)

kṛ.: he loke! snānottara kichu japa karaba.

---

[a] sarvve

(They pause.)

(Pradyumna etc. enter with an entrance [song].)

(...)

My thoughts [fixed] on my father's feet,
I'll quickly[62] go and serve [him].
That's my mind. (Refrain[63])

(In the first corner)

Uddhaba, Akrūra, let us go visit my father.

Pradyumna, come.

(In the second corner)

Pradyumna, it please you to go quickly

Uddhaba, Akrūra, come.

Lord, my obeisance.

Pradyumna, sit down here.

Lord, certainly.

(Sāgarikā enters, circling [the stage].)

Rukmiṇī, take this betel and cool water.

Sāgarikā, give [it to me].

(Rāhu and the moon are caused to be brought [on stage] as props.[64] [Rāhu] swallows [the moon].)

Uddhaba, Akrūra, the moon has been swallowed up. Keep this drāḍhā jewel under guard and we will bathe.

Lord, certainly.

My people, the moon has been swallowed up. Let us bathe.

Lord, gladly.

(They bathe to the blowing of the poṃgā.)

My people, [now,] having bathed, let us perform some recitations.

sarve[a]: īśvara! yukti.
(mahe. tipana[65] duṃ)
(pratha.)
hame pradyumna rūpa kae drāḍhāmaṇi cori karaba.
(dvitī.)
hame torita jāeba.

uddhaba:akrūra: he pradyumna! torāña āgamana kī.

pradyu.: he uddhaba akrūra! pitāka ājñāna maṇi pūjā karaba.

ubhau: pradyumna! abaśya.
(mahe. maṇi kāyāva da. piṃ)
(pratha.)
ī maṇi lae torita ghara jāeba.
(dvitī.)
śīghra jāeba.

kṛ.: he rukminī satyabhāmā! drāḍhāmaṇi pūjā karaba, sāmagrī ānu.

ubhe: īśvara! abaśya.

ubhe: he prabhu! sāmagrī lela hoa.
(kṛṣṇana soya maṇi ma du.)
he uddhaba akrūra! drāḍhāmaṇi etae nahi (fol. 30a) chaya, kañona lela.

ubhau: he īśvara! pradyumna āya kahu lelahni.

kṛ.: he pradyumna! kī nimitta maṇi lela?

pradyu.: īśvara! hame nahi lela.

---

[a] sarvve

Lord, ['tis] well.

(Mahendradamana enters to the sound of the blowing of the poṃgā.[65])

(In the first corner)

I'll assume the form of Pradyumna and steal the drāḍhā jewel.

(In the second corner)

I'll go quickly.

Pradyumna, why have you come [back so] soon?

Uddhaba, Akrūra, by command of my father we shall worship the jewel.

Pradyumna, certainly.

(Mahendradamana takes the jewel and exits from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

I'll [now] go quickly home with this jewel.

(In the second corner)

I'll go quickly.

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, let us worship the drāḍhā jewel. Bring the object [of worship].

Yes, my lord.

Lord, the object [of worship] has been taken.

(Kṛṣṇa takes a look. The jewel is not there.)

Uddhaba, Akrūra, the drāḍhā jewel is not here. Who took [it]?

Lord, Pradyumna came and took [it].

O Pradyumna, what's the reason you took the jewel?

Lord, I didn't take it.

kṛ.: kī bhela, baḍa āścarya.

he loke! anyatra jāeba, calu.

sarve[a]: īśvara! ucita.

(nissāra)

maṇi mori cori lela byākula hiyā[66]

(pratha.)

he loke! mana byākula bhela.

sarve[a]: īśvara! jukti kahala.

[(dvitī.)]

sarve[a]: he īśvara! śīghra bijaya karu.

kṛ.: loke! calu.

lu 16

(kachapādi pa. duṃ)

śaṃkhā.: he kachapa! adyāpi bhrātā nahi āyala chathi.

kacha.: ekhane ābata prāya.

(mahe. daba. duṃ)

(pratha.)

hame drāḍhāmaṇi hari ayalāha.

(dvitī.)

śīghra jāyaba.

he priye (fol. 30b) he bhrātā!

sarve[a]: daityarāja! hamara praṇāma. etaya bijaya karu.

mahe.: priye! abaśya.

mahe.: he loke! khaneka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! ucita.

(biśrāma)

---

a sarvve

What has happened? [This] is very strange.

My people, come, let us go somewhere else.

Lord, gladly.

(Exit [song])

My jewel is stolen, [my] heart is shaken.[66]

(In the first corner)

My people, [my] spirit is shaken.

Lord, you have spoken fittingly.

(In the second corner)

Lord, it please you to go quickly.

Come, my people.

[End of] Scene 16

(Kachapa etc. enter, circling [the stage].)

Kachapa, our brother still hasn't come [back].

He'll come any moment.

(Mahendradamana enters on stage.)

(In the first corner)

I took the jewel and [now] have come.

(In the second corner)

I'll go quickly.

Loved ones! Brothers!

Daitya king, our obeisance. It please you to sit down here.

Dear ones, certainly.

My people, let us rest awhile.

Great king, gladly.

(They pause.)

mahe.: he śaṃkhāsura kachapāsura! prabhābatīka mana raṃjana nimitte bāgmatī baṃdhana kae hrada kae caṃdanāgiri upala upabana banāe toha loka rakṣā karu.

he kachapāsura! ī drāḍhāmaṇi lae jatana kaya lākhu.

ubhau: mahārāja! jahane ājñā sehe karaba.

(śaṃkha. kacha. bāgmatī pāna vane.)

(nissāra)

(pahaḍiyā. pari.)

bīra bhāyi bola suni bāgamati jāu
bādhaba nadī hame nṛpa sukha pāu //

(pratha.)

śaṃkha: he kachapāsura! rājāke ājñāña bāgmatī bādhaba, calu.

kacha.: śaṃkhā(fol. 31a)sura! calu.

(dvitī.)

kacha.: he bhrātā śaṃkha! tvarāña calu.

mahe.: he priye! hame antaḥpura jāeba.

rāṇī: prāṇeśvara! je ichā.

he sakhi! tohe gṛhaka saṃmārjana karu gae.

sakhī: rāṇī! abaśya.

(sakhī pa. piṃ)

mahe.: he priye! tohara netra caṃcala dekhi kahu hamara cittonmāda hoyichia, tẽ kichu kahaba, sunu.

rāṇī: nātha! kahu.

(mahendrokti śṛṃgāra)

(yaubana samaya mā. pahaḍi kāphī. co.)

kāmini kāraṇa jāni karabaha māna
tohe teji priyatama kehu nahi jāna //
kuṃḍala caṃcala tua śobhita kāna

Śaṅkhāsura, Kachapāsura, make a lake for Prabhābatī's pleasure by damming up the Bāgmatī; lay out a park on top of Candanā Mountain and keep guard [there].

Kachapāsura, take this drāḍhā jewel and carefully watch over it.

Great king, we will do as [you] command.

(Śaṅkhāsura and Kachapāsura set off to dam up the Bāgmatī.)

(Exit [song])

(...)

Having heard our stout brother's words, let's go to the Bāgmatī.
The river we'll dam: the king shall be happy.

(In the first corner)

Kachapāsura, come, let's dam up the Bāgmatī as the king commands.

Śaṅkhāsura, come.

(In the second corner)

Brother Śaṅkha, let's be quick.

My dear, let us go into the harem.

Lord of [my] life, as you wish.

Companion, see to the cleaning of the house.

My queen, certainly.

(The companion exits, circling [the stage].)

My love, when I see your sprightly eyes, my mind goes mad.

So there's something I'd like to say. Listen.

My lord, speak.

(Love [song], rendered by Mahendradamana)

(...)

Loving one, I know a reason you will be proud:
Know [for me] there's none most loved but you.
Your ears are adorned with bobbing pendants,

dasana dāḍima pāti nāsikā bāna //

tua sani sundari katahu na nāri
rati para paṃḍita[a] komala bāli //
jagata(fol. 31b)prakāśa kaha mānini sāra
cā̃daśekharasiṃha hoathu hāra //

he priye! tohara sarūpa kaona taha kahi hoa.

rāṇī: he prāṇanātha! hamahu kichu binatī karaba, se sunara hoa.

mahe.: prāṇapriye! kahu.

(rāṇyukti śṛṃgāra)
(sapana sapana mā. mālava. pra. e.)
pahu bara toha paya nāgara rasa sāgara

ihā teji hṛdaya mori katahu na lāgala //
badana manohara sārasa hame tua basa
abhimate karabaha mohi raga pahu rasa //
tohara alapa hame dāsī thika prabhu ati nīka
tohara ucita nahi nāgari hama thika //
jagataprakāśa nṛpa gāva komala kara
cā̃daśekharasiṃhaka hṛdahi lākhala //

he prā(fol. 32a)ṇaballabha! hame alpa mati ihākā āgu kī kahaba.

mahe.: he priye! kichu kāla svarṇa[b] khāta upara rahaba.

rāṇī: hamahu ehi ichā.

(pari. piṃ)

lu 17

---

a paḍita[67] b svarṇṇa

Your teeth are [like] rows of pomegranate [seeds],
 your nose [like] an arrow.
Nowhere is there a woman [so] fair as you.
[Though] young and tender, you're wise in ways of love.
[Thus] describes Jagatprakāśa the essence of proud women.
Let Cāndaśekharasiṃha be my necklace.

Dear, who can describe your nature?

Lord of [my] life, I too would like to say something. Kindly listen.

Dearest, speak.

(Love [song], rendered by the queen)

(...)

Best of husbands, you alone are [my] love, a sea of love's
 potion.
My heart clings to nowhere but you.
[Your] face is like a dazzling lotus; I am in your hold.
Conjugal love you instill in me at will.
I'm your lowly servant; [you] are [my] very good lord.
I'm no fit lover for you.
[This] King Jagatprakāśa sings in a tender and melodious [tone].
Cāndaśekharasiṃha is kept in [my] heart.

Dearest, I'm not very smart. What shall I say in your presence?

Dear, let us spend a while on the golden bed.

That's my desire too.

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

[End of] Scene 17

(śaṃkha kachapa da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

śaṃkha: he kachapa! bhāyika bacana karu gae.

kacha.: bhrātā! calu.

(dvitī.)

kacha.: he agraja! tvarita calu.

śaṃkha: anuja! calu.

śaṃkha: he kachapa! manā eka biśrāma karaba.

kacha: bhrātā! ucita.

(biśrāma)

śaṃkha: he kachapāsura! bāgmatī baṃdhana kae hrada karaba.

kacha.: ehe karaba.

(bāgmatī pāne ujhāna dayake me)

(sura (fol. 32b) sari parase mā. āsāvarī. pra.)

bādhaba bāgamatī hama duhu ehi khane
upabana banāoba āje
prabhābatī nāgarī kīḍae lāi ābe
tvarite karaba duhu sāje //
nṛpa bole (ṭeka) //

śaṃkha: he kachapāsura! hame baṃdhana rakṣā kae bila dvāra rahaba, tohe pāni bhitara gaya paisi rahu.

kacha.: je ihāka anumata.

(gāyanana piṃ)

lu 18

(sūryaketvādi pa. duṃ)

sūrya.: he priye! pala eka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! jogya.

---

[a] sarvve

(Śaṅkha and Kachapa enter on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Kachapa, let us do what our brother has said.

Brother, come.

(In the second corner)

Elder brother, hurry on.

Younger brother, come.

Kachapa, let us rest awhile.

Brother, gladly.

(They pause.)

Kachapāsura, let us dam up the Bāgmatī and make the lake.

That we will do.

> (Song of damming the Bāgmatī and laying out the park)
>
> (...)
>
> We two will dam the Bāgmatī right now.
> We'll lay out the park today.
> That dear Prabhābatī may therein now play
> We'll both be quick to take steps,
> True to the king's command. (Refrain)

Kachapāsura, I'll stay at the entrance to the cave and guard the dam. You enter the water and stay there.

As you think [best].

(They exit singing.)

[End of] Scene 18

(Sūryaketu etc. enter, circling [the stage].)

Dear, let's rest a moment.

Great king, ['tis] well.

(biśrāma)

(camdrābatī pai. duṃ)

(snāna dāna mā. vasanta. co.)
mohi dhanī caṃdrābatī jaīchaño bege
tāta mātaka pada dekhaba gae bege //

(pratha.)

he līlābatī! mā (fol. 33a) bāpaka caraṇa sebā karaba, calu.

līlā.: rājaputrī! calu.

(dvitī.)

lī.: he rājanandini! śīghra bijaya karu.

caṃdrā.: līlābatī! calu.

he pitā he mātā! hamara praṇāma.

ubhau: putrī! āu, etaya baisu.

caṃ.: mātā! abaśya.

(krabyā. da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

hame daityarājāka ājñāña sūryaketu pāsa jāeba.

(dvitī.)

torāña jāeba.

he nareśvara! trailokyādhipa mahendradamanaka ājñā sunu.

sūrya.: anucara! kahu.

(krabyādokti daṇḍaka)
(hara he sebae [mā]. mālava. lāṃja.)
mahendradamana thika tribhubana nāthe
tohara naṃdinī deha tahnikara sātha //
okarake samucita deha toha dāne
ke hoyata tula jana ekarā samāne //

(They pause.)

(Candrābatī enters with an entrance song.)

(...)

I, the maid Candrābatī, will [now] make haste.
I shall see my parents' feet soon.

(In the first corner)

Līlābatī, come, I will do service to my parents' feet.

Princess, come.

(In the second corner)

Princess, it please you to go quickly.

Līlābatī, come.

Father, mother, my obeisance.

Daughter, come, sit down here.

Mother, certainly.

(Krabyāda enters on stage.)

(In the first corner)

I will go to Sūryaketu at the Daitya king's command.

(In the second corner)

I'll go quickly.

Prince of men, hear the words of the lord of the three worlds, Mahendradamana.

Retainer, speak.

(Daṇḍaka [Song],[68] rendered by Krabyāda)

(...)

Mahendradamana is the three worlds' lord.
Give him your daughter [to wed].
She is worthy of him, [so] give [him this] gift.
What peer could there be, his equal?

para(fol. 33b)kāśa bhana cā̃daśekhara hīta
se binu gela saba hamarā ābe nīta[a] //

he nareśvara! ihāka putrī caṃdrābatī ṣtrīratna mahendradamana magaichalā, kī uttara.

sūrya.: he rājānucara! je hama binatī karaba se sunara hoa.

krabyā.: rājā! kahu.

(sūryokti daṇḍaka)
tohe je kahala bānī
sāca kae hame māni //
taiba putri atibālā
samayahi para kara hārā //
parakāśa kaha ehi bola
cā̃daśekhara[b] mori jora //

he rājānucara! ihāña yogya kahaichalā, hamara putrī bālakī thiki, jahiyā samaya hoeta hunakara bastu thika, dhanya hamara bhāgya, trailokyādhipati mahendradamana hamara putrī jācanā karaicha, hīni taha ha(fol. 34a)mara āna bhāgya nahi hoyate.

krabyā.: he mahārāja! hama jāyichaño, ājñā diyo.

sūrya.: anucara! jāu.

(krabyā. da. piṃ)

(pratha.)

sūryaketu rājā baḍa jñānī, bhabiṣya bicāra karaicha, ī bārttā daityarājake kahaba.

(dvitī.)

hame kārya siddhi kaya ayalāha, rājāke kahaba gae.

---

a anīta[69] b cādaśekhara

[Thus] says Prakāśa, Cāndaśekhara's friend.
Without him for me is now all lost forever.[69]

Prince of men, Mahendradamana has asked for the hand of your daughter Candrābatī, jewel among women. What is [your] reply?

Retainer of the king, kindly hear what I have to say.

King, speak.

(Daṇḍaka [song], rendered by Sūryaketu)

The words you have spoken
I'll follow truly.
But [my] daughter is [still] too young.
In time he shall make [her his] necklace (?).
Prakāśa speaks these words.
Cāndaśekhara is my might.

Retainer of the king, you have spoken well. [But] my daughter is [still] a child. When the time has come this matter of his will be arranged. Thanks be to my fate: Mahendradamana, the lord of the three worlds, is courting my daughter. Another (= a greater) piece of good fortune than this will not befall us.

Great king, I would [now] go, give [me but your] leave.

Retainer, go.

(Krabyāda exits from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

King Sūryaketu is very smart; he's thinking of the future.
I'll report this news to the Daitya king.

(In the second corner)

"I've come, having completed my duty." [So] I'll say to the king.

sūrya.: he buddhisāra mantrī! hamara bedana sunu.

mantrī: mahārāja! kahu.

(sūryokti dukha me)
(jata baḍa mā. mālava. e.)
dukhahi dukha bhela sahi nahi jāe
śvetakā nagara teji tathuhi palāe //
ehi beli dānaba kahalahni bāli
etahi na bāsa bhela kehu na adhāri //

he mantri! eka dukha rājyabhraṣṭa dvasara dukha jātibhraṣṭa, betī daityaña mā(fol. 34b)gala, ataḥpara kañona upāya karaba.

mantrī: mahārāja! dhairya karu, kartā[a] īśvara.

(nāra. da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

he bāsu! hame sūryaketu rājā bodha karaba, calu.

bāsu: munirāja! calu.

(dvitī.)

bāsu: he munirāja! sūryaketu rājāka kī dukha bhela?

nārā.: bāsu! rājāka baḍa duḥkha, haṃsadhvaja rājāña rājya māri lela, otae saño palāya kahu mṛgendraśikhara rahalāhu, punu daitya-rājāña takara putrī magalahni, tẽ sūryaketu rājāka baḍa kaṣṭa.

bāsu: he ṭhākura! daityarājāke nahi daite.

nāra.: rājā sujāti daitya adhamajāti, adhamake ke deta.

bāsu: aḥ hamara baḍa bhāgya.

---

[a] karttā

Minister Buddhisāra, listen to my woes.

Great king, speak.

(Song of grief, rendered by Sūryaketu)

(...)

Woe upon woe has come, not to be borne:
The city I gave up, Śvetakā, and fled here;
Now has come a Dānaba to talk about the girl.
Here I can't stay either; there is none to help.

Minister, one misfortune was the loss of sovereignty, the second is the loss of caste. A Daitya has asked for [my] daughter's hand. What measures now should I take?

Great king, hold firm. God is the fashioner [of destinies].

(Nārada comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

My lad, come, I want to bring word to King Sūryaketu.

King of munis, come.

(In the second corner)

King of munis, what trouble is King Sūryaketu in?

My lad, the king is in great trouble. King Haṃsadhvaja overran his kingdom. He fled from there and has been staying on Mṛgendraśikhara. Then again, the Daitya king has now asked for the hand of his daughter. So King Sūryaketu is very bad off.

Master, he ought not to give [her] to the Daitya king.

The king is of high caste, the Daitya of low. Who would give [his daughter] to one lower?

Oh, [what] great good luck for me!

(hṅele)

re dekhanihāra loke! hame bibāha (fol. 35a) karaba, hame karaba. he ṭhākura! may goḍa lagaicha, rājāka betī hama saño bibāha karāu.

(nāradana dāya, bāsu beyāva joya.)

nāra.: nirbaṃśa[a] baḍa mūrkha.

nā.: he mahārāja!

sarve[b]: munīśvara! hamara praṇāma.

nā.: manaskāmanāsiddhir[c] astu.

sūrya.: he munīśvara! ī āsane bijaya karu.

nā.: mahārāja! abaśya.

(biśrāma)

sūrya.: he munirāja! ihāña darśana dela, hamara bhāgya bhela, parantu mahendradamana rājāña hamara putrī magalahni, ī baḍa saṃkaṭa, ihāña uddhāra karu.

nāra.: he mahārāja! ehi nimitte hame ayalāha, brahmāka mukha hame sunala: pradyumna saño prabhābatī bibā(fol. 35b)ha, punu caṃdrābatī bibāha, taduttara pradyumna hāthe mahendradamana mārata, ī bṛttānta ihāke kahaya ayalāha.

sūrya.: dhanya mora bhāgya, munīśvara[70] darśana hamara nikaṭa ayalāha.

nā.: he mahārāja! hame prabhābatīka nikata jāeba.

sūrya.: munīśvara! bijaya karu, hamara praṇāma.

nāra.: he bāsu! prabhābatī bodha karaba, calu.

bāsu: nārada! bijaya karu.

---

a nirbbaṃśa   b sarvve   c manakāmanā-

(He laughs.)

People of the audience, I'll marry [her]. That I will.

Master, I lie at [your] feet. Have the daughter of the king marry me.

(Nārada strikes [out at him]; the boy retreats.)

You homeless big fool!

Great king!

Lord of munis, my obeisance.

May [your] heart's desires be fulfilled.

Lord of munis, it please you to sit here.

Great king, certainly.

(They pause.)

King of munis, that you have visited [us] is our good fortune. But King Mahendradamana has asked for my daughter's hand in marriage. A great affliction this is. Save [us].

Great king, for this very reason I have come. I have heard from the mouth of Brahmā: Prabhābatī's marriage will be with Pradyumna, and then Candrābatī's in turn. After that Pradyumna will slay Mahendradamana with [his own] hand. I have come to tell you these tidings.

Thanks be to my fate that the lord of munis[70] has come to us on a visit.

Great king, I will [now] go to Prabhābatī.

Lord of munis, it please you to go. My obeisance.

My lad, come, I will now bring word to Prabhābatī.

Nārada, it please you to proceed.

(nissāra)

(nuyo mayaju kehe mā. bhopālī. e.)

cala saṃge tohe bāsu prabhābatī pāsa
bodha karaba maya sehi paya āsa //

(pratha.)

he bāsu! prabhābatīka thāe torāya calu.

bāsu: munirāja! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

bāsu: he munirā(fol. 36a)ja! abilaṃbe bijaya karu.

nā.: bāsu! calu.

sūrya.: he loke! antaḥpura gae rahaba.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! je ichā.

(pari. piṃ)

lu 19

(prabhā. hema. prema. tipa. duṃ)

(prathama.)

he hemabatī premabatī! krīḍā hrada gae jala krīḍā karaba, calu.

ubhe: prabhābatī! calu.

(dvitī.)

hemabatī/premabatī: he prabhābatī! śīghra bijaya karu.

prabhā.: hemabatī premabatī! calu.

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! khaneka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! ucita.

(biśrāma)

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! ekhane jala krīḍā karaba.

---

[a] sarvve

(Exit [song])

(...)

Come along, lad, to Prabhābatī.

I'll bring [her] word; that alone [is her] hope.

(In the first corner)

My lad, let's set off quickly to Prabhābatī's place.

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

King of munis, it please you to go quickly.

My lad, come.

My people, let us go rest in the harem.

Great king, as you wish.

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

[End of] Scene 19

(Prabhābatī, Hemabatī, Premabatī enter to the blowing of the poṃgā.)

(In the first corner)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, come, let us go to the pleasure lake and play in the water.

Prabhābatī, come.

(In the second corner)

Prabhābatī, it please you to go quickly.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, come.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let us rest a moment.

Prabhābatī, gladly.

(They pause.)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, now let's play in the water.

ubhe: prabhābatī! jahene ihāka ichā tahene karaba.

(jalakrīḍā)

(kadama tale (fol. 36b) mā. āsāvarī. co.)

parasaba ucita sehi kalola // (dhru.)
phaṭika sahasra guṇa niramala belā
tathuhu bilāsaba mati ati bhelā //
bhāṣana basana hame rākhaba tīra
harașa hṛdaya bhāba chuoba nīra //
lāgala[a] ā̃jana jale caṃdanahu gela
abahi hamake ati śītala dela //
jagataprakāśa bhana rati rasa jāna
c̄̃adaśekhara teji hamara malāna //

prabhāba: he hemabatī premabatī! jala krīḍā pariśrama byatīta karae nimitte ehi puṣpa bāṭikā rahaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! je ihāka anumata.

iti dvitīyāṅkaḥ

Prabhābatī, we'll do as you wish.

(Water play)

(...)

These waves we'll gladly feel. (Refrain)
A thousand times purer the tide is than crystal.
There we'll sport; our mind is set on that utterly.
Jewels and clothing we'll lay on the shore.
We'll touch the water, a feeling of joy in [our] hearts.
Applied collyrium, sandal paste too, are gone in the water.
Now has [the water] refreshed me entirely.
[Thus] says Jagatprakāśa, who knows love's temper.
Without Cāndaśekhara I wither away.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, to make the fatigue of water play pass let us linger [awhile] in this flower garden.

Prabhābatī, as is your mind to do.

[Thus ends] the second act

(atha tṛtīyadivase)

(prabhā. hema. prema. alaṃkāraṇa duṃhā.[71])

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! mu(fol. 37a)hūrta[a] eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! bhala.

(biśrāma)

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! āja hamara mana byākula hoiacha, sunu.

ubhe: prabhābatī! hamarahu mana capala hoiacha, kahala hoa.

(lavāńa svāna mā. rathyārī. co.)

sāya sāya āja saguṇa baḍa mandā
kāpari mori bāma dithi arabindā //
sehi sama bheli sakhi bāmaka bāhu
bādhari nibi rabi mohi kara rāhu //
kichu nahi bheli mori ācala khasayi
ehi saba hame dhani mane na sahayi //
parakāsa kaha cā̃daśekhara subhāyi
janama kṛtāratha karabaha māyi //

prabhā.: he hemabati premabati! ehana kautuka bhela.

ubhe: he rājanaṃdini! kāminīkā (fol. 37b) bāma diśa kaṃpana baḍa uttama thiki.

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! mālatīka chāyā tala rahaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! ucita.

(biśrāma)

(nāra. da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

he bāsu! prabhābatīka laga jāeba, calu.

---

[a] muhūrtta

(Then on the third day)

(Prabhābatī, Hemabatī and Premabatī enter [decked out] with ornaments.)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let's rest a moment.

Prabhābatī, ['tis] well.

(They pause.)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, today my mind is shaken. Listen.

Prabhābatī, our minds are also restless. Kindly speak.

(...)

O Lord, O Lord, today the signs are very poor;
The lotus of my left eye twitched;
Like this, friends, fared [my] left arm [too].
[My] hip cloth is bound; Rāhu treats me like the sun (?).[72]
Nothing happened, [yet] my bodice slips down.
I cannot bear all this, a maid, in my heart.
[Thus] says Prakāśa. Cāndaśekhara is [my] dear brother.
Mother [of the worlds], you'll make [my] birth successful
[again].

Hemabatī, Premabatī, such strange things have happened.

Princess, for a maid in love twitching on the left side is a very good [sign].

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let us linger [awhile] in the shadow under a mālatī [tree].

Prabhābatī, gladly.

(They pause.)

(Nārada comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

My lad, come, let us go to Prabhābatī.

bā.: munirāja! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

bā.: he munīśvara! tvarāe bijaya karu.

nā.: bāsu! calu.

nāra.: he prabhābati!

prabhā./hemaba./prema.: he debamuni! hamara praṇāma.

nā.: manovāñchāsiddhir[a] astu.

prabhā.: kī nimitta āgamana kayala.

nāra.: he prabhābatī! tohare nimitta ayalāha, sunu.

prabhā.: munirāja! kahu.

(nāradokti daṃḍaka)

(mālava. kha.)

tohe dhani prabhābatī suna mora[74] bola
debihi pradyumna pati dela bala tora //
bra(fol. 38a)hmāka bacane hame caṃdrābatī rāni
toha duhu biyāhaba[b] pradyumnahi āni //

he prabhābatī! pradyumna etaya āni kahu prathama tohara bibāha karāoba, paścāt caṃdrābatīka bibāha.

prabhā.: he munibara! ihāka bacana mithyā nahi hoeta, tathāpi anucita sunala hoa.

nāra.: bāṇātmajā! kahu.

kachapa śaṃkhāsura bāgamati pāsa
biśese mahendradamana samipahi bāsa //
aisena tharahi jehi ānaba kathīna
jahnikā mukha dekhi hoyata sudīna //

he munibara! mahendradamana sana bīra śaṃkhāsura sana kachapāsura sana jahnikā āgu ke ābaya pārata.

---

[a] manovāṃchā-

[b] biyāhata[75]

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord of munis, it please you to go quickly.

My lad, come.

Prabhābatī!

Muni of the gods, my obeisance.

May [your] hearts' desires be fulfilled.

What's the reason you've come?

You're the reason I've come. Listen.

King of munis, speak.

> (Daṇḍaka [song], rendered by Nārada)
>
> (...)
>
> You, maid Prabhābatī, hear my words:
> The goddess has granted your wish, a husband, Pradyumna.
> By Brahmā's decree I'll marry[75] you both, Queen[76] Candrābatī
> [And you], to Pradyumna, whom I shall bring.

Prabhābatī, I'll bring Pradyumna here and marry first you and then Candrābatī [to him].

Best of munis, your words will not prove false, yet kindly hear [my] inappropriate [doubts].

Bāṇa's daughter, speak.

> Kachapa and Śaṅkhāsura are staying at the Bāgmatī;
> Mahendradamana, more to the point, lives right nearby.
> To such a place we'll bring someone by great pains [only],
> [Though] seeing his face would be [for me] a blessed day.

Best of munis, heroes like Mahendradamana, like Śaṅkhāsura and like Kachapāsura: who can come before them?

nāra.: he prabhābatī! ī kaona saṃdeha brahmāka bacana parameśvarīka bare mithyā (fol. 38b) nahi hoete.

he prabhābatī! tohara bhrātā mahendradamanaka pratāpe kakaro trāsa nahi, tohe nagara janu jāha, etahi rahu, hame dvārikā jāeba.

prabhā.: munirāja! bijaya karu, hamara praṇāma.

nāra.: he bāsu! dvārikā jāe pradyumna ānu gae.

bāsu: ṭhākura! bhala 2.

(daba. piṃ)

(pratha.)

he bāsu! torāe dvārikā jāeba.

bā.: debamuni! calu.

(dvitī.)

bā.: he ṭhākura! kutanāpi kae hamarāke kichu bhojana pāvata.

nāra.: bāsu! ichā bhojana toharāke khabāoba.

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! nāradaka bacana māni kahu etahi rahaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! munika bacana pramāṇa.

(pari. piṃ)

lu 2o

(kṛṣṇādi (fol. 39a) da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

he loke! baḍa āścarya, hame dhyāna dṛṣṭi dekhaba, jāni hala, hamara drāḍhāmaṇi mahendradamana daityarājāña cori laya gela, ekara phala pāvata.

sarve[a]: ī kañona saṃdeha.

---

[a] sarvve

Prabhābatī, there can be no doubt Brahmā's decree will not prove false, [alone] from the Supreme Goddess's having granted your wish. Prabhābatī, who is not frightened at the might of your brother Mahendradamana? Don't you go into the city [but] remain here. I'll [now] go to Dvārikā.

King of the munis, it please you to go. My obeisance.

My lad, let us go to Dvārikā and bring Pradyumna.

Master, good, good.

(They exit from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

My lad, let us go quickly to Dvārikā.

Muni of the gods, come.

(In the second corner)

[Now] that strife has been stirred up,[77] we could have something to eat.

My lad, I'll feed you food to your heart's content.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, we'll do what Nārada said and remain here.

Prabhābatī, the muni's words are our guide.

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

[End of] Scene 2o

(Kṛṣṇa etc. enter on stage.)

(In the first corner)

My people, [that] is very strange. I'll look with [my] mind's eye. I see it [now].[78] It was the Daitya king Mahendradamana who stole my drāḍhā jewel and took it away. He'll pay for that.

There's no doubt of that.

(dvitī.)

sarve[a]: he jagadīśvara! śīghra bijaya karu.

kṛ.: loke! calu.

he loke! daṃḍa eka biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: jagadīśvara! ucita.

(biśrāma)

nāra. pai. dum.)

(āsāvarī. co.)

hari pada daraśaba dvārikā jāya
māgi anaba abe paradyumna kāya //

(pratha.)

he bāsu! śrī kṛṣṇa darśana karaba, calu.

bā.: munirāja! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

bā.: he munirāja! torita bijaya karu.

nā.: bāsu! calu.

he uddhaba! hame ayalāha, īśvarake kahu.

uddha.: (fol. 39b) munirāja! hamara namaskāra, abaśya kahaba.

he parameśvara! dvāre nārada thādhi acha.

kṛṣṇa: he loke! pūjā sāmagrī laya nārada ānu gae.

sarve[a]: īśvara! abaśya.

kṛṣṇādi: he nārada! hamara praṇāma.

nā.: prauḍha[b] hoa.

kṛ.: he nārada! pādyādi liyo.

nā.: parameśvara! je abhimata.

kṛ.: he nārada muni! kavana kāraṇe ihāka āgamana.

---

[a] sarvve

[b] prauḍa

(In the second corner)

O lord of the world, it please you to go quickly.

My people, come.

My people, let us rest awhile.

Lord of the world, gladly.

(They pause.)

(Nārada enters with an entrance [song].)

(...)

To Dvārikā I'll go and see the feet of Hari.
Then I'll make appeal and bring Pradyumna.[79]

(In the first corner)

Come, lad, let us pay a visit to Kṛṣṇa.

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

King of munis, it please you to go quickly.

My lad, come.

O Uddhaba, I have come. Tell [your] lord.

King of munis, my obeisance. Certainly I shall tell [him].

Supreme Lord, Nārada is standing at the gate.

My people, bring the implements for honoring [guests] and lead Nārada inside.

Yes, my lord.

Nārada, my obeisance.

Be you strong!

Nārada, receive water for your feet and the rest.

Supreme Lord, as you wish.

Muni Nārada, for what reason have you come?

nāra.: he parameśvara! prabhābatīña parameśvarīka ārādhanā kaela pradyumna svāmi kāmanāña, taduttara parameśvarī saṃtuṣṭa hoe kahu pratyachya bhaya prabhābatīke bala dela, tẽ nimitte hame pradyumna lebae ayalāha.

kṛ.: he nārada muni! mahendradamana mahābīra, takara āgu bālaka pradyumnaña kahena bibā(fol. 40a)hā karata, ihāka saṃga hame āya kahu mahendradamana māri bibāhā karabāoba.

nāra.: he parameśvara! ihāña mahendradamana māri nahi hoa, brahmāka bacana pradyumnaka[a] hāthe mahendradamanaka mṛtyu śaṃkhāsuraka kachapāsuraka mṛtyu, tẽ pradyumna hame laya jāyaba, kāli ihāña garuḍa caḍhi pradyumnaka sāhāyya[b] nimitte ihāña caṃdāgiri upara āgamana karu.

kṛ.: he pradyumna! je nārada kaha se karu.

pradyu.: pitā! abaśya.

kṛ.: he nārada! ī pradyumna bālaka, ihāña rakṣā karu, liaoba.

nā.: parameśvara! abaśya.

pra.: he pitā mātā! hamara praṇāma.

sarve[c]: kalyāṇa[d] hoa.

nāra.: he pradyumna! śīghra calu.

pradyu.: munirāja! bijaya ka(fol. 40b)ru.

(daba. piṃ)

(pratha.)

nāra.: he pradyumna! torita prabhābatīka thāba calu.

pradyu.: munirāja! je ājñā.

(dvitī.)

pradyu.: he munīśvara! śīghra bijaya karu.

---

[a] pradyumnanaka [b] sahāyya [c] sarvve [d] kaṃlyāṇa

Supreme Lord, Prabhābatī, out of a desire to gain Pradyuma as husband, paid homage to the Supreme Goddess. Thereupon the Supreme Goddess was satisfied, appeared to her and granted Prabhābatī her wish.

For this reason I have come, to take Pradyumna.

O muni Nārada, Mahendradamana is a great hero. How is the young Pradyumna to bring off the wedding before his very eyes? I'll come with you, kill Mahendradamana and perform the wedding [myself].

Supreme Lord, you cannot kill Mahendradamana. Mahendradamana's death, and Śaṅkhāsura's and Kachapāsura's deaths, will be at the hand of Pradyumna, by Brahmā's decree. Therefore I'll take Pradyumna, and tomorrow you come on Garuḍa to the top of Candāgiri to stand by Pradyumna.

Pradyumna, what Nārada says do.

Father, assuredly.

Nārada, Pradyumna is [still] young. Watch over [him].

Take [him now].

Supreme Lord, certainly.

Father, mother, my obeisance.

Farewell.

Pradyumna, let us make haste.

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

(They exit from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

Let us be quickly off to Prabhābatī's.

King of munis, as you command.

(In the second corner)

Lord of munis, it please you to go quickly.

nā.: pradyumna! calu.

kṛ.: he rukmiṇī satyabhāmā! toha loka etahi rahu, hame pradyumnaka sāhāyya jaïchaño.

rukmi./satya.: prabhu! je ājñā.

(kṛ. da. piṃ.)

(pratha.)

kṛ.: he garuḍa! etaya āu.

garu.: he parameśvara! hamara praṇāma, kī ājñā?

kṛṣṇa: he garuḍa he uddhaba akrūra! pradyumnaka yuddha dekhaba gae.

garu.: parameśvara! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

garu.: he īśvara! torita bijaya karu.

kṛ.: garuḍa! calu.

rukmi.: he satyabhāmā! svāmīka bārttā bujhaba, calu.

satya.: rukmiṇī! calu.

(fol. 41a) (nissāra)

(saguṇa karaite mā. naṭa kedārā. pra.)

pahu binu biraha bihāra
sājani (ṭeka)
tahni pada lāgala saṃsāra //

(pratha.)

rukmi.: he satyabhāmā! torita svāmika bārttā bujhaba, calu.

satya.: rukmiṇī! calu.

(dvitī.)

satya.: he rukmiṇī! abilaṃbe bijaya karu.

rukmi.: satyabhāmā! calu.

lu 21

Pradyumna, come.

Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāma, you remain here, and I'll go stand by Pradyumna.

Lord, as you command.

(Kṛṣṇa exits from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

Garuḍa! Come here!

Supreme Lord, my obeisance. What is [your] command?

Garuḍa, Uddhaba and Akrūra, let us go watch Pradyumna's battle.

Supreme Lord, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord, it please you to go quickly.

Garuḍa, come.

Satyabhāmā, come, let us find out the news of our husband.

Rukmiṇī, come.

(Exit [song])
(...)
Without [our] husband all joy is gone,
Companion. (Refrain)
On his foot the whole world hangs.

(In the first corner)

Satyabhāmā, come, let us quickly find out the news of [our] husband.

Rukmiṇī, come.

(In the second corner)

Rukmiṇī, it please you to go without delay.

Satyabhāmā, come.

[End of] Scene 21

(prabhā. pari. duṃ)

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! khana eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: rājaputrī! je ichā.

(biśrāma)

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! hamara abasthā sunu.

ubhe: prabhābatī! kahu.

(pahu morā mā. dhanāśrī. kha.)

kuṭila śaśi tohe jāne
hamake kayala abe baḍa tāpe // (dhru.)
sabaka kayala (fol. 41b) tohe śītala
mohi dhani tanu ati tābe
hame abalā aparādha na kayaraha
badhu badha apajasa pāve //
apana taruna dekhi bedana hoaya
ehana pāpinī bālā
biṣahi bhojana kae śarīra tejaba abe
jehni guṇe karaba hamarā //
jagataprakāśa nṛpa bhanaya biraha dukha
bujhaya digambara debā
cā̃daśekharasiṃha mori hita jība tūla
jahni pāvaya lāi sebā //
mama kāntamukhena tvaṃ jito 'si śaśalāñchana[a] /
atas tasya priyāṃ haṃsi karair atisuduḥsahaiḥ //[8o]

he hemabatī premabatī! hamara svāmī nahi āyala, tẽ candramāna kateka duḥkha dela, hame sahi nahi hoyichia, kī upāya karaba.

---

a -lāṃchana

(Prabhābatī enters, circling [the stage].)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, let's rest awhile.

Princess, as you wish.

(They pause.)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, hear my condition.

Prabhābatī, speak.

(...)

Mischievous moon, you know,
Now you have caused me great pain. (Refrain)
To all you brought a coolness;
With me you much scorched a maid's body.
I am a woman and did no wrong.
You earn the disgrace: a maid's murder.
When I see myself so young I grieve:
Such a wicked girl am I.
A meal I'll make of poison now and quit [this] body;
From that I'll [re-]fashion my virtue (?).
[Thus] describes King Jagatprakāśa the pain of separation.
The naked god [Śiba] knows:
Cāndaśekharasiṃha is like [my own] life to me;
To win him [back] is [my] serving's aim.
You hare-betokened [moon], you're bested by my loved one's face;
You thus strike down his loved one with your nigh insufferable rays.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, my husband has not come, and so the moon has caused [me] much grief. I can't bear it [any longer]. What am I to do?

ubhe: he rājanaṃdini! dhairya karu, (fol. 42a) ekhane nārada[a] pradyumna laya abatāha.

(biśrāma)

(nāra. pradyu. da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

nā.: he pradyu[mna]! torāña prabhābatī dekhaba, calu.

pradyu.: nārada! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

pradyu.: he nārada! śīghra bijaya karu.

nā.: pradyumna! calu.

nāra.: he prabhābati!

prabhā.: he nārada! hamara praṇāma.

nā.: manorathaprāptir astu.

nāra.: he prabhābati! ī pradyumna girijāña je dela tohara svāmī, hīni taha gaṃdharba[b] bibāhā karu.

prabhā.: he munirāja! ī baḍa sukumāra, hamara bhrātā mahābhayānaka jahnikā āgu indra nahi saṃmukha hoobay[81], hinakara kahena kalyāna[c] hoeta.

nāra.: he prabhābatī! i kaono saṃdeha nahi, pradyumna saño bi(fol. 42b)bāha, pradyumnaka hāthe mahendradamanaka mṛtyu, tẽ trāsa janu karu.

prabhā.: he nārada muni! bhāyi marabāe kahu bibāhā karaba lokāpabāda[d] hame sahi nahi hoa, te bibāhā nahi karabe, kṛṣṇanandana phiri ghara pathāu.

nāra.: he prabhābati! sunu.

idaṃ vidhātrā racitaṃ śrūyatāṃ varavarṇini[e] /
pradyumnas te patir bhāvī satyaṃ paṅkajalocane //

---

[a] nārade [b] gaṃdharbba [c] kaṃlyāna [d] lokopabāda [e] -varṇṇini

Princess, remain firm. Any moment Nārada will come bringing Pradyumna.

(They pause.)

(Nārada and Pradyumna come on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Pradyumna, come, let's be quick to go see Prabhābatī.

Nārada, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Nārada, it please you to go quickly.

Pradyumna, come.

Prabhābatī!

Nārada, my obeisance.

May [your] wishes be fulfilled.

Prabhābatī, this is Pradyumna, whom Pārbatī has given to you for a husband. Enter with him into a Gandharba marriage.

King of munis, he's [still] very young and tender, and my brother is very fearsome; [even] Indra cannot face him. How will it go well for him?

Prabhābatī, there can be no doubt of your marriage with Pradyumna and the death of Mahendradamana at the hands of Pradyumna. So do not be afraid.

Muni Nārada, I would [then] have had my brother killed and entered into marriage. I couldn't bear the reproaches from others. I'll not marry then. Send Kṛṣṇa's son back home.

Prabhābatī, listen.

> Hear, O fair one. This has been fixed by Brahmā:
> Lotus-eyed, Pradyumna will be your husband surely;

mahendradamano daityo hantavyo 'nena sarvathā[a] /
iti jñātvā varārohe viṣādaṃ muñca bhāvini //[82]

he prabhābatī! je bidhātā likhala nirarthaka nahi haute[58], toha bibāhā kae mahendradamana māri caṃdrābatī bibāhā karata, etabā jāni kahu śaṃkā chādi bibāhā karu, ataḥpara hame mṛgendraśikha(fol. 43a)ra gae tohara nikaṭa prātaḥkāla āoba.

prabhā.: nārada munīśvara! hame kī kahaba, ihāka anumata, hamara praṇāma.

nā.: he pradyumna! ihāña etaya rahu, hame prātaḥkāla āoba.
pradyu.: he munirāja! hamara praṇāma, bijaya karu.
nāra.: re bāsu! mṛgendraśikhara ghuri āoba.
bā.: munirāja! abaśya.
(daba. piṃ)
(pratha.)
he bāsu! torāe jāyaba, calu.
bā.: munirāja! bijaya karu.
(dvitī.)
bā.: ṭhākura! pradyumna prabhābatī bibāhā hoyata, o duhu sakhī ke bibāhā karata.
nāra.: he bāsu! o ke bibāhā karata.
bā.: svāmi! keo nahi karate hame karaba 2.
he ṭhākura! śīghra bijaya karu.
nā.: bā(fol. 43b)su! calu.
prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! ī āsana āgu kaya lākhi diyo.
ubhe: prabhābatī! abaśya.
ubhe: he prabhābatī! ī puṣpamālā pahilāu.

---

[a] sarvvathā

By him is the Daitya Mahendradamana by all means to be slain.
Knowing this, O fair-hipped one, relinquish gloom, O beauty.

Prabhābatī, what Brahmā has written down will not be to no purpose. [Pradyumna] will marry you, kill Mahendradamana and marry Candrābatī. [Now that] you know this much, put away your doubt and enter into marriage. After this I'll [now] go to Mṛgendraśikhara and come [back] to you early in the morning.

Nārada, lord of munis, what shall I say, [since it has] your assent? My obeisance.

Pradyumna, remain here. I'll come [back] early in the morning.

King of munis, my obeisance. It please you to go.

My lad, we'll return [here] from Mṛgendraśikhara.

King of munis, certainly.

(They exit from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

Come, lad, let us make haste.

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Master, there'll be a marriage between Pradyumna and Prabhābatī, [but] who'll marry those two companions?

My lad, who'll marry them [indeed]?

Master, if nobody'll do it, I will, I will.

Master, it please you to go quickly.

Come, lad.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, set this seat in front.

Prabhābatī, certainly.

Prabhābatī, put this flower garland around [his neck].

pra.: sakhī! abaśya.

(tipana prabhābatīna svāna mālana ko khāyakāva chabhine cona vane.)

prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! hamara bhāyi baḍa duṣṭa, kadācit ābaya pāra, toha loke dvāra patha jāe dekhi rahu.

ubhe: prabhābatī! bhala.

(pari. piṃ)

pradyu.: he priye prabhābatī! jahiyā nārada mukhe tohare yaubanonmāda suni citta cāṃcalyatāya nidrāu nahi bhele, tẽ tohara sarūpa barṇanā[a] karaichaño, sunu

prabhā.: prāṇaballabha! ājñā karu.

(yā mana mohana mā. velāṃga(fol. 44a)lā. co.)
bhāmini mukha chavi kaho nahi jāya // (dhru.)

nayana vayana para khaṃjana kherata
beśara nāsikā para lāyo
keśa pāśa para ratana dhari haya
dasana dāḍima guṇa pāyo //
otha madhura phala lāla varaṇa teri
bhamara bhaya moro āsā
gajagāmini aisi gamana kiyo kachu
thakita bhaya na kahi bhāsā //
aguthi curi pahiraya hātha para
payala para nūpura bāje

---

[a] barṇṇanā

My friends, certainly.

(To the blowing of the phoṃgā Prabhābatī places the flower garland around his neck and steps aside (?) to wait.)

Hemabatī, Premabatī, my brother is very mischievous. He may come at any time. Go to the path by the [cave's] entrance and keep watch.

Prabhābatī, good.

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

Dear Prabhābatī, when[83] I heard of your youthful charms from the mouth of Nārada, I could not sleep for inner unrest. I'd like, then, to describe your nature. Listen.

Dearest speak.

> (...)
> O beaming one, the beauty of [your] face cannot be told.
> (Refrain)
> On [your] face [your] eyes play [like] wagtails.
> In [your] nose you wear a ring.
> In the locks of [your] hair a jewel is held.
> [Your] teeth have got the excellencies of pomegranate [seeds].
> Your lip is like a sweet fruit red in hue;
> [My] hope became a bee and turned [to it].
> When you take a few steps like that, O you of elephant gait,
> One stops short and finds no words (?).
> Rings and bracelets you wear on [your] hands;
> On [your] feet [your] anklets sound.

parakāśa kaha caṃdaśekhara jivano
nāri puruṣa saṃga kāje //

he priye prabhābatī! tohara rūpa guṇa barṇanā[a] caturmukha brahmā taha barṇi[b] nahi hoa.

prabhā.: he nātha! ehana kī kahaichia, hamara binatī sunara hoa.

pradyu:. priye! kahu.

(pahaḍi kedārā. co.)

prabhu prabhu ja(fol. 44b)pa tapa prabhu mora prāna
jagata jinala prabhu rūpaka bakhāna //
rati rasa para prabhu paṃḍita jāne
caudiśa katahu na ihāka samāne //
yaubana mada tua sundara bara kāya
adharahi adhara tohara milāya //
jagataprakāśa nṛpa ehi guṇa bhāna
cā̃daśekhara saṃge milaba jāna //

he prāṇanātha! ihāña kāma deba svarūpa, adhika kī kahaba.

pradyu.: priye! satya.

(prahāsikā vaya.)

prahā.: he pradyumna! tohara śṛṃgāra rasa dekhi hamara mana paghirala, ī bālakī kī rasa jānata, hama saño krīḍā karu, je rasa cāha se rasa hama janaichaño, sunu.

(pradyumna joñāva haya.)

pradyu.: re bhatarāhi! nirbaṃśa[c] jāu, chiyā chiyā.

(tolatāva va(fol. 45a)ya.)

---

a barṇṇanā b barṇṇi c nirbbaṃśa

[Thus] says Prakāśa. Cāndaśekhaṛa is [my] life.
Man and woman's union is the goal (?).

Dear Prabhābatī, your beauty and excellencies cannot be described, [even] by four-faced Brahmā.

My lord, what can I say like that? Kindly hear my words.

Dear one, speak.

(...)

Lord, lord, [my] recitation and austerity; O lord, my life.
The world is overcome, lord, by the telling of [your] form;
It knows [you], lord, as one wise in love's temper:
In the world's four corners is nowhere your compeer.
Your body's passing fair: it intoxicates the youths;[84]
Your lip compares with your lip alone.
King Jagatprakāśa describes these excellencies.
Know I'll meet Cāndaśekhara [again].

Lord of [my] life, your nature is that of the god Kāma. What more shall I say?

Dear one, in truth.

(A farceuse appears.)

Pradyumna, when I saw your love my heart melted. What love does this girl know? Make your sport with me. I know whatever [type of] love is wanted. Listen.

(She grabs Pradyumna.)

Fie, fie, hag (?), get you to the childless![85]

(She lets go [of him].)

prahā.: he dekhanihāra loke! ī pradyumna baḍa mūrkha, kā̃cao nahi jānae pakkao nahi jānae, bhala punu bodha karaba.

e ṭhākurá! āu, kichu hamara bacana sunu.

(dhanāśrī. dva.)
duhuka keli dekhi mori kāma bādhara
hama saño kāma kiḍā kiya nahi kayala //
aneka puruṣa saṃge kayalahu raṃge
te hame guṇi bhaya danta bhela bhaṃge //
saba kara dhari mori cuci lābi bhela
kapolahi nakha kṣata kata kata dela //
jagataprakāśa bhana ehi hāse rasa
cā̃daśekhara guṇa mohi ati rasa //

he pradyumna! jahene pakkā ābaka svāda tahene kacā ābaka svāda [nahi] hoete.

pradyu.: re bhatarāhi! nirbaṃśa[a] hou.

prabhā.: he hemabatī prema(fol. 45b)batī!

ubhe: he rājanaṃdinī! kī ājñā?

prabhā.: ī bhatarāhi galạhathā dae khedu.

ubhe: prabhābatī! abaśya.

re bhatarāhi! nirbaṃśa[a] jāu.

(galasa peṅāva choya.)

pradyu.: he prabhābatī! kichu kāla biśrāma karaba.

prabhā.: nātha! je ihāka ichā.

(biśrāma)

(nāra. daba. duṃ)

(pratha.)

---

[a] nirbbaṃśa

O members of the audience, this Pradyumna is one big fool. He doesn't know what's raw and what's ripe. I'll teach [him], though, what's good.

Come, master, listen a bit to my words.

(...)

When I saw them flirting both, my love's lust grew.
Why has he not played love's game with me?
With many men [before] I've made merry;
I'm tops now, then, [though] teeth have broken off.
By every kind of hand held up, my breasts have grown long.
So many, many wounds by nails were given to my cheeks.
[Thus] describes Jagatprakāśa the comic mood.
Cāndaśekhara's excellencies are for me the supreme sap (?).

Pradyumna, the taste of a raw mango will not be like that of a ripe one.

Hag, may you be without offspring!

Hemabatī, Premabatī!

Princess, what is your command?

Take this hag by the neck and see her off.

Prabhābatī, certainly.

Hag, get you to the childless!

(They take (?) [her] by the neck and lead [her] away.)

Prabhābatī, let us rest a spell.

My lord, as you wish.

(They pause.)

(Nārada comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

he bāsu! pradyumnaka nikaṭa calu.

bā.: munirāja! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

bā.: he munirāja! ihāna kalaha binā saṃtuṣṭa nahi, kahiyā yuddha hoeta.

nā.: bāsu! ekhane hoeta.

nāra.: he pradyumna prabhābatī!

sarve[a]: he munirāja! hamara praṇāma, ī āsane baisu.

nāra.: pradyumna! jahene ichā.

(biśrāma)

nā.: he pradyumna! bāgmatī baṃdhana sthāna (fol. 46a) jāe śaṃkhāsura māraba, calu.

pradyu.: munirāja! bijaya karu.

he priye prabhābatī! hame saṃgrāma jāichaño, tohe etaya rahu.

prabhā.: nātha! hame kī kahaba, hamara praṇāma.

(nissāra)

(calaha hame mā. mālava. pra.)

nārada saṃga mili paradumna jāya
śaṃkhāsura māraba setu chaḍāya //

(pratha.)

pradyu.: he munirāja! hame alpabīrya, oha loka durjaya, hama taha kahena māri hoa.

nā.: ī kañona saṃdeha, brahmāka bacana biparīta hoeta.

(dvitī.)

nāra.: he pradyumna! brahmāka prasāde mahendradamana daityaña tribhubana rājya kaela, tahene brahmāka bacana ihāka haste okara

---

[a] sarvve

My lad, let us go to Pradyumna.

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

O king of munis, without strife you're not satisfied.

When will the battle take place?

It will take place [any time] now.

Pradyumna, Prabhābatī!

King of munis, our obeisance. Take your seat here.

Pradyumna, as you wish.

(They pause.)

Pradyumna, come, let us go to the Bāgmatī dam and kill Śaṅkhāsura.

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

Dear Prabhābatī, we're going off to battle. You stay here.

My lord, what shall I say? My obeisance.

(Exit [song])

(...)

[Now] with Nārada I, Pradyumna, will go
To slay Śaṅkhāsura, to make him give up the dam.

(In the first corner)

King of munis, I am not very strong, and they are nigh unbeatable.

How can they be slain by me?

There's no doubt of it; [otherwise] Brahmā's decree would be reversed.

(In the second corner)

Pradyumna, the Daitya Mahendradamana has ruled the three worlds by the grace of Brahmā, and even so by Brahmā's decree will his

mṛtyu.

pradyu.: munirāja! satya.

(fol. 46b) prabhā.: he hemabatī premabatī! hamara svāmi saṃgrāma gelāha, takara jayārtha maṃgala kaya rahaba.

ubhe: prabhābatī! abaśya.

(pari. piṃ)

lu 22

(śaṃkha kacha. gāyana. duṃhā.)

śaṃkha.: he kachapa! āja hame dusvapna dekhala, bāgmatī baṃdhana hame rakṣā karaba, tohe jala bhitara gaya rahu.

kacha.: bhrātā! abaśya.

(nehmāna khesaṃ[79] cone.)

(pradyu. nāra. daba. duṃ)

(pratha.)

pradyu.: he nārada! torāe daitya māraba, calu.

nā.: pradyumna! calu.

(dvitī.)

nā.: he pradyumna! sābadhāna kae yuddha karu.

pradyu.: nārada! abaśya.

nāra.: he pradyumna! bila dvāra pahucalāha, ihāña hāka pālu.

pradyu.: nārada! abaśya.

(nārada chakhesa cone. (fol. 47a) pradyumnana hakke.)

he duṣṭa śaṃkhāsura! saṃmukha hoá, āji māraba.

(śaṃkhāsura jhākhana vaya.)

śaṃkhā.: he narādhama! indrādi ḍeba taha hama saño nahi pārata, tohe bālaka śastra saño nahi pālaba, muthikāya māraba, sunu.

death [come about] by your hand.

King of munis, in truth.

Hemabatī, Premabatī, my lord has gone off to battle. Let us remain here and pronounce blessings for his victory.

Prabhābatī, certainly.

(They exit, circling [the stage].)

[End of] Scene 22

(Śaṅkha and Kachapa enter to the accompaniment of song.)

Kachapa, today I had a nightmare. I'll watch over the Bāgmatī dam, and you go stay in the water.

Brother, certainly.

(The two remain to one side [of the stage] (?).[86])

(Pradyumna and Nārada come on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Nārada, come, let us be quick to kill the Daitya.

Pradyumna, come.

(In the second corner)

Pradyumna, do battle with care.

Nārada, certainly.

Pradyumna, we've come to the cave entrance. Call [to him].

Nārada, certainly.

(Nārada stands aside. Pradyumna calls.)

O wicked Śaṅkhāsura, show your face; today I'll kill you.

(Śaṅkhāsura comes to the ominous blowing of the poṃgā.)

Basest of men, Indra and the other gods couldn't stand up to me.[87] You're [but] a boy: I won't lay [you] low[87] with weapons; I'll kill [you] with [my] bare fist. Listen.

pradyu.: daityādhama! kahu.

(śaṃkhāsurokti yuddha)

(tohe gada śāmba mā. pahaḍi. e. pra.)

deba gaṇe na pālara tohe ki pāraya
muthihi māri kahu jama puri pathāvaya //

śaṃkhā.: he nāradhama! ekhane jama puri pathāoba.

(pradyumnokti yuddha)

re daityādhama! ki garba[a] karaichaha, ekhane prāṇa reba, sunu.

śaṃ.: narādhama! kahu.

garaba na karabaha māraba ābe
tua śira pada deba bājaya na pāve //

(petasa lakāmana nyāṅāva syā(fol. 47b)ya. śaṃkhāsura hālā saraṇa kachapāsura laṃkhana pihā vayāva hālāva laṃkhasa du biya. thva sara mahendradamanana[b] tāyāva jhākhana duṃ.)

mahendra.: he manuṣyādhama! hamara pratāpe keo dukhi nahi, tathi hamara bhāya śaṃkha kachape dukha dela, sunu.

pradyu.: daityādhama! kahu.

(mahendrokti yuddha)

(tohe māraya mā. pahaḍiyā. pari. e. pra.)

he krūra tohe kiya kayala gumāne
kakara kumāra kaha rebaha prāne //

re narādhama! kaona baṃśa kakara putra kahaha.

(pradyumnokti yuddha)

---

[a] garbba [b] mahendradamanakana

Basest of Daityas, speak.

(Battle [song], rendered by Śaṅkhāsura)

(...)

The gods could not withstand me; how will you withstand me?
With my bare fist I'll kill [you] and send [you] to Jama's town.
Basest of men, I'll send [you] now to Jama's town.

(Battle [song], rendered by Pradyumna[88])

Basest of Daityas, why act [so] proud? In a moment I'll have [your] life. Listen.

Basest of men, speak.

You'll not act proud: I'll kill [you] now;
Foot on your head I'll set: you'll find no way to clang [more].

(He kicks him in the stomach with his shoe, killing him. As a consequence of Śaṅkhāsura's bellowing, Kachapa surfaces from underneath the water, lets out a roar and dives back into the water. Hearing the voices, Mahendradamana enters to the omnious blowing of the poṃgā.)

O basest of men, where I rule no one comes to grief, [but] here grief has been given to my brothers Śaṅkha and Kachapa.

Listen.

Basest Daitya, speak.

(Battle [song], rendered by Mahendradamana)

(...)

O cruel one, why did you act [so] proud?
Whose son you are, say; I'll have [your] life.
Basest of men, say from which family and whose son you are.

(Battle [song], rendered by Pradyumna[88])

he debakaṃṭaka! hame jadu baṃśa kṛṣṇaka putra pradyumna nāma, hamara pitā yuddha dekhae lāyi ekhane abatāha.

(kṛṣṇa daba. duṃ.)

(pratha.)

he uddhaba akrūra! pra(fol. 48a)dyumnaka yuddha dekhaba, calu.

ubhau: īśvara! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

ubhau: he parameśvara! torita bijaya karu.

kṛ.: uddhaba akrūra! calu.

pradyu.: he pitā! hamara praṇāma.

kṛ.: he nārada! hamara praṇāma.

nā.: jayo 'stu.

pradyu.: re re daityādhama! hamara bacana sunaha.

mahe.: narādhama! kahaha.

śaṃkhāsura mārala punu māraba[a] tohi
sumaraha niya deba tanu leba[b] tohi //

he daityādhama! ekhane jība leba, apana debatā smaraṇa karu.

mahe.: he narādhama! ekhane jama purī pathāoba, sunaha.

pradyu.: danujādhama! kahaha.

tohe hari suta thika nūna goāra
janu bāja tohe tua bhela kāla //

re narādhama gavāra! ekhane jiba leba.

(nāradana pradyu(fol. 48b)mna chakhe yaṅāva kāne.)

---

[a] mārala [b] lela

Enemy to the gods, I belong to the Yadu family and am Kṛṣṇa's son, Pradyumna by name. My father will come now to watch the battle.

(Kṛṣṇa comes on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Uddhaba, Akrūra, come, let us watch Pradyumna's battle.

Lord, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Supreme Lord, it please you to go quickly.

Uddhaba, Akrūra, come.

Father, my obeisance.

Nārada, my obeisance.

Victory be [to you].

Basest Daitya, hear my words.

Basest of men, speak.

> Śaṅkhāsura I've killed; I'll kill you too.
> Your private god remember; [your] body I'll take.

Basest Daitya, now I'll take [your] life. Remember your private god.

Basest of men, I'll send you now to Jama's town. Listen.

Basest Danuja, speak.

> You're Hari's son, a low cowherd.
> Clang not [so]; your time has come.

Basest of men! Cowherd! Now I'll have [your] life.

(Nārada takes Pradyumna aside and speaks [to him].)

he pradyumna! ī mahendradamana astraka abhedya, brahmāka bacana acha: pradyumnaka[a] muthikāya mahendradamanaka mṛtyu, tẽ śastra chādi muthikāña māru.

pradyu.: debamuni! ihāka bacana pramāṇa.

(lāhātina āni yāṅ̇āva vane.)

re re indraśatru! śastra chādi muṣṭi yuddha kaya jama pura pathāoba, sunaha.

mahe.: ahīra! kaha.

śastra hame bhūmi dhari karabahu jora
muthihi māri kahu jiba leba tora //

(mocake.)

(daityarāṇī pa. duṃ.)

he prāṇanātha he prāṇanātha!

(bhoka suya.)

(bilāpana)

(āliṅgana karayite mā. marhathi. e.)

bhelahu pahuka abe prāṇaka nāsa
pāpini ṅa pārala prabhu saṃ(fol. 49a)ge bāsa //
hari hari dukha baḍa jahni rūpa dekhī
dānaba gaṇa para ehi paya lekhī //
taruṇa suṃdara bhela nika bujha kāma
bidhu mukha komala deha abhirāma //
jagataprakāśa kaha karuṇa bilāpa
cā̃daśekhara saño hoathu milāpa //

śiba śiba!

(bāgmatī prādurbhāba)

(śrī. co.)

---

[a] pradyumnanaka

Pradyumna, this Mahendradamana is proof against weapons. There is a decree of Brahmā's: Mahendradamana's death [will be] by Pradyumna's fist. Lay aside your weapons, then, and kill [him] with your fist.

Muni of the Gods, your word is [my] guide.

(He bows, [touching his feet] with his hand, and takes off.)

Indra's foe, I'll lay aside my weapons and with a fight of fists send you on to Jama's town. Listen.

Cowherd, speak.

I lay my weapons on the ground and summon up [my] force.
With fist I'll strike and take your life.

(He kills [him].)

(The Daitya queen enters, circling [the stage].)

O lord of [my] life, lord of [my] life!

(She sinks to the ground.)

([Song of] grief)

(...)

Now has the destruction come of [my] lord's life;
I, offender, could not remain with him.
Hari, Hari! Whose beauty [now] I see with intense pain,
He alone among Dānabas counts for me.
He is young and comely, and understands love well;
Soft [like] the moon is [his] face, and [his] body graceful.
[Thus] describes Jagatprakāśa grief['s temper], inciter of pity.
May there be a meeting with Cāndaśekhara [again].

Śiba, Śiba!

(The Bāgmatī appears.)

(...)

āyalahu hame debi bāgamati nāma
saba jana cita para purabahu kāma[a] //

hame bạ̄gmatī mahendradamana daityarājāña badhavalāha, āja mahendradamana pradyumnaña mārala, ataḥpara kṛṣṇake śaraṇa jāeba.

he parameśvara! mahendradamanaka ājñāña bahuta barṣa hame badhalahni, gaṃgāka darśana ichā acha, hamara baṃdhana mokṣaṇa karu.

kṛ.: he bāgma(fol. 49b)tī! abaśya hame chāḍi deba.

(cakrana pālāva chāña choya.)

bāgma.: he parameśvara! ihāka kṛpāña hame gaṃgā darśana karaya jāeba, ājñā diao, hamara praṇāma.

kṛ.: bāgmatī! jāu.

(bāgmatī u menaṃ pi hāya. kachapa laṃkhana thāhā vayāva parbata[b] kāyāva pāne dhakāva sāne.)

kacha.: re! ke duṣṭa hamara bādhara bāgmatī chāḍi dela.

(lucula parbata[b] dolāgiri parbata[b] jone.)

kṛ.: he loke! kachapa mahābīra eka hāthe dolāgiri parbata[b] eka hāthe svarṇa[c] parbata[b] laya bādhayaka mana, tẽ mana bege mahādeba sthāpanāña kīla gāḍaba.

nāra.: he īśvara! ihāka bacane kīla nikasala, tẽ dolāgiri upara sthāpanā (fol. 50a) je kayala takara nāma kīleśvara, svarṇa[c] parbata[b] upara sthāpanā je kayala takara nāma svarṇeśvara[d] nāma.

---

a nāma b parbbata c svarṇṇa d svarṇṇeśvara

I have come, the goddess called Bāgmatī.

The wishes in all men's hearts I'll fulfill.

I am the Bāgmatī; the Daitya king Mahendradamana let me be held captive. [But] today Mahendradamana has been killed by Pradyumna; after this I seek refuge with Kṛṣṇa.

Supreme Lord, by command of Mahendradamana they have held me captive many years. I have one wish, to see the Gaṅgā. Loosen my bonds.

Bāgmatī, I'll free [you] certainly.

(He smashes [the dam] with his discus.)

Supreme Lord, by your kindness I shall go to see the Gaṅgā. Give [me] your leave. My obeisance.

Bāgmatī, go.

(The Bāgmatī exits to the same song. Kachapa surfaces from underneath the water, seizes [two] mountains and tries to dam up [the Bāgmatī anew].)

Oh! What wicked man has freed our dammed up Bāgmatī?

(He seizes the mountains Lucula and Dolāgiri.)

My people, the great hero Kachapa has seized with one hand the mountain Dolāgiri and with the other the mountain Svarṇa and intends to dam up [the Bāgmatī again]. So quick as thought I'll drive pales into the ground by setting up Mahādeba [liṅgas].

Lord, by your words [two] pales have arisen. The one set up on top of Dolāgiri is thus called Kīleśvara, and the one set up on the mountain Svarṇa is called Svarṇeśvara.

kacha.: re manuṣyādhama! deba taha hama saño nahi pāraichia,
toha hamara jorā bala karaichaha, sunaha.

pradyu.: asurādhama! kaha.

(magadha deśayā mā. dhanāśrī. parimāna.)

deba dānaba kehu mohi nahi jora
muthihi māri kaya jiba leba tora //

re narādhama! muthihi māri kahu tohara jība leba.

nāra.: he pradyumna! jala bhitara ekarā mṛtyu nahi, garuḍaka pakṣa
bāte thala pathāe kahu kachapaka jathara phāri drāḍhāmaṇi
lae taduttara sudarśana cakra prahāre śiraścheda karu.

pradyu.: munīśva(fol. 50b)ra! je ājñā.

pra.: he garuḍa! ihāka pakṣa bāte kachapa sthala pathāu.

garu.: pradyumna! abaśya.
(pāna puyāva sthalasa taya.)

re kachapāsura[a]! je patha tohara duo bhāyi gela se patha pathāoba, sunaha.

kacha.: mānuṣādhama! kahaha.

(pradyumnokti yuddha)

tua duhu baḍa bhāyi nāsara ābe
tora śira kāti kahu ohe gati pāve //

(mocake.)[89]

---

[a] kachāpāsura

Basest of men, [even] the gods could not stand up to me, [and still] you want to use force against me. Listen.

Basest Asura, speak.

(...)

No god or Dānaba is a match for me;
Striking with fist, your life I'll take.

Basest of men, I'll strike you with [my] fist and take your life.

Pradyumna, he will not die in water. Drive [him] onto dry land with the wind from Garuḍa's wings, slit open his (lit. Kachapa's) belly, take out the drāḍhā jewel, and after that cut off [his] head with a blow of the discus Sudarśana.

Lord of munis, as you command.

O Garuḍa, with the wind from your wings drive Kachapa onto dry land.

Pradyumna, I will.

(He generates wind with his wings and drives [Kachapa] onto dry land.)

O Kachapāsura, I'll send [you] on that road that both your brothers went. Listen.

Basest of men, speak.

(Battle [song], rendered by Pradyumna)

Your two big brothers are now undone;
With your head cut off you'll go the same way.

(He kills [him].)

gāu rasa bibhatsa re // (dhru.)
rudhira pibaya bhuta daitaka ābe
kāce kācahi māsu khāya mohi pāve //
karejā gīraya ehe ḍāgini loke
pareta pisāca gaṇa dura kara soke //
giridha cīra syāla khāyata huḍāre
kabā̃dha uthata kata śirahi bihāre //

jagataprakāśa nṛpa rasa bibhatsa gā(fol. 51a)ve
cā̃daśekharasiṃha muditahi pāve //

kṛṣṇa: he loke! pradyumnaka baḍa pariśrama bhela, tẽ nimitte kichu kāla biśrāma karaba.

sarve[a]: parameśvara! abaśya.

(biśrāma)

nāra.: he bānanandini! torāña etaya āu.

(prabhā. pari. duṃ)

prabhā.: he munirāja! hamara praṇāma, kī ājñā.

nāra.: he bānanandini! i toharā svasura, praṇāma karu.

prabhā.: munīśvara! abaśya.

he pitā! hamara praṇāma.

kṛ.: putravatī bhava.

he prāṇanātha! hamara praṇāma.

nāra.: he parameśvara! ataḥpara caṃdrābatīka bibāhā karāoba, calu.

sarve[a]: nārada! je ichā.

(daba. piṃhā.)

(pratha.)

kṛ.: he nārada! mṛgendraśikhara torāña calu.

---

[a] sarvve

Let us sing the temper of disgust. (Refrain)
Bhūtas are now drinking Daitya blood,
[Each thinking,] "Fresh raw meat I get to eat."
Those Ḍākinīs swallow the heart.
Pretas and Pisācas are rid of [their] cares.
Vultures, kites (?), jackals and wolves will eat.
How many [headless] trunks will come up to frolic with [the
Daityas'] heads!
[Thus] Jagatprakāśa sings of the temper of disgust,
I would with joy find Cāndaśekharasiṃha.

My people, Pradyumna is quite worn out, so let us rest awhile.

Supreme Lord, certainly.

(They pause.)

O daughter of Bāṇa, be quick to come here.

(Prabhābatī enters, circling [the stage].)

King of munis, my obeisance. What is [your] command?

Daughter of Bāṇa, this is your father-in-law. Offer your obeisance.

Lord of munis, assuredly.

Father, my obeisance.

Be blessed with sons.

Lord of [my] life, my obeisance.[90]

Supreme Lord, after this let us perform Candrābatī's marriage. Come.

Nārada, as you wish.

(They exit from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

Nārada, let us be off quickly to Mṛgendraśikhara.

nāra.: parameśvara! calu.

(fol. 51b) (dvitī.)

nā.: he parameśvara! ihāña loke pāchu aīho, hame tatae torita jāeba.

sarve[a]: nārada! bijaya karu.

(koṇasa vāya. nāra. piṃ)

kṛ.: he loke! sūryaketu rājā hamara baḍa bhakta thika, tathi jāyaba, calu.

sarve[a]: parameśvara! bijaya karu.

lu 23

(sūryaketvādi pari. duṃ)

sūrya.: he priye! jāba dhari nārada nahi abate tāba dhari etahi rahaba.

ubhe: mahārāja! hamarahu ehe mana.

(biśrāma)

(nāra. paisā.)
(āyala dhvaviyā mā. guṇḍa. co.)
sūryaketu bhūpati daraśaba jāe
jehi nagara basa tathuhi milāe //

(pratha.)

he bāsu! sūryaketu rājāka putrī caṃdrābatīka bibāha karāoba.

bā.: munirāja! ucita.

(dvi(fol. 52a)tī.)

he munirāja! torita bijaya karu.

nā.: bāsu! calu.

nā.: he mahārāja!

sūrya.: munirāja! hamara praṇāma.

---

[a] sarvve

Supreme Lord, come.

(In the second corner)

Supreme Lord, you come on behind. I'll go there quickly.

Nārada, it please you to proceed.

(Nārada leaves [the group] in the corner and exits from stage.)

My people, King Sūryaketu is a great devotee of mine. Come, let us go there.

Supreme Lord, it please you to proceed.

[End of] Scene 23

(Sūryaketu etc. enter, circling [the stage].)

My dears, until Nārada comes we'll remain here.

Great king, that was our thought too.

(They pause.)

> (Nārada's entrance [song])
>
> (...)
>
> I'll go and see King Sūryaketu
> To make [them] meet together in the place (lit. 'city' (?))
>   where he is staying.

(In the first corner)

My lad, I'll arrange the marriage of King Sūryaketu's daughter, Candrābatī.

King of munis, ['tis] well.

(In the second corner)

King of munis, it please you to proceed.

Come, lad.

O great king!

King of munis, my obeisance.

nā.: haribhaktir astu.

sū.: ī āsane bijaya karu.

nā.: mahārāja! abaśya.

(kṛṣṇādi daba. duṃ)

(pratha.)

he uddhaba akrūra! caṃdrābatī saño pradyumnaka bibāha karabāoba.

ubhau: īśvara! ucita.

nāra.: he mahārāja! parameśvara ābata, ihāña loke āgu jāe nebachi ānu gae.

sūrya.: nārada! ucita.

ubhau: he parameśvara! otaya śīghra bijaya karu.

kṛ.: uddhaba akrūra! calu.

(kolāṅasa napā lāya.)

sūrya.: he parameśvara! hamara sāṣṭāṅga praṇāma.

kṛ.: sālokyaprāptir astu.

sū.: he parameśvara! hamara gṛha pabitra ka(fol. 52b)ru.

kṛ.: mahārāja! tẽ nimitta ayalāha.

(dvitī.)

nā.: he parameśvara! torita caṃdrābatīka bibāha karāu gae.

kṛ.: nārada! calu.

sūrya.: he mantrī prabhṛti loke! bādyādi laya ānu.

sarve[a]: mahārāja! abaśya, lioba.

sū.: he parameśvara! ihāka pūjā karaba.

kṛ.: je ichā.

(vīṇā cāmara mā. dhanāśrī. pra.)

tohe prabhu kṛṣṇa hari pūjaba debā

---

[a] sarvve

Love of Hari be [in you].

It please you to sit here.

Great king, certainly.

(Kṛṣṇa etc. come on stage.)

(In the first corner)

Uddhaba, Akrūra, I shall marry Pradyumna to Candrābatī.

Lord, ['tis] well.

Great king, the Supreme Lord will be coming. Go before him and receive [him] respectfully.[91]

Nārada, gladly.

Supreme Lord, it please you to go there quickly.

Uddhaba, Akrūra, come.

(They come together at one side [of the stage].)

O Supreme Lord, I bow down my entire body.

[You] shall have your share of [my] world.

Supreme Lord, [by your visit] make my house pure.

Great king, it is for this reason I have come.

(In the second corner)

Supreme Lord, quickly [now], perform Candrābatī's wedding.

Nārada, come.

Minister and you others, bring the music instruments and so on.[92]

Great king, certainly. Take [them].

O Supreme Lord, I would pay you reverence.

As you wish.

(...)

You, lord Kṛṣṇa, O god Hari, I will revere.

pada pari kayarahu mori tua sebā //
gopini gana saṃga bilāsaya ohi
te ati sohaya abe mohana tohi //
praṇabi praṇabi deba pada juga tora
ehi mati hoathu kebala mora //
jagataprakāśa bhana mane guṇi sāra

cā̃daśekhara deha hamara hṛdi hāra[a] //

he parameśvara! ihāka bhakta janu chaḍāu.

kṛ.: ma(fol. 53a)hārāja! ucita.

sūrya.: he mantrī! bibāha sāmagrī laya ānu.

mantrī.: mahārāja! abaśya.

(mantrī chakuṇasa vāṅāva sarate.)

he loke! bibāha sāmagrī laya toha loka āu.

(hmāti hmāti joṅāva vaya.)

sarve[b]: ī sāmagrī lioba.

nāra.: bhala, lākhu.

nāra.: he dāyi! ihāna loke caṃdrābatīka kaṃkaṇa baṃdhana karu, hame pradyumnaka kaṃkana baṃdhana karaba.

sarve[b]: munirāja! abaśya.

(kaṃkana baṃdhana)

(jata pāve mā. dhanāśrī. co.)
nāgari karahi muni kaṃkana dela

te ati kāmini abe śobhitahu bhela //

---

[a] sāra[94]   [b] sarvve

You have I served, lying at [your] feet.
With those women cowherds you do sport;
Now, therefore, you greatly shine, O charmer!
I'll ever bow before your pair of feet:
Let this be my only thought.
[Thus] describes Jagatprakāśa the essence of those with
excellencies of mind.
Give [me back] Cāndaśekhara, my heart's necklace.

Supreme Lord, let [me] not give up [my] devotion[93] to you.

Great king, ['tis] well.

Minister, bring the wedding implements.

Great king, certainly.

(The minister leaves [the group] to one side and calls out.)

You people, come [here] with the wedding implements.

(They all bring [the implements].)

Take these implements.

Good. Lay [them] down.

You girls, you bind on Candrābatī's marriage string and I'll bind on Pradyumna's marriage string.

King of munis, we will.

(They bind on the marriage strings.)

(...)
Round the dear [bride's] arm, O muni, the marriage string
has been laid;
Thereby has the very loving one now become radiant.

nāra.: he loke! ataḥpara pradyumnakā caṃdrābatīkā pasāhanī kae yajña maṇḍapa ānu.

sarve[a]: ehane karaba.

nāra.: he sūryaketu rājā! ihāña kanyādāna[b] karu.

sū.: munirāja! abaśya.

(saṃkalpa(fol. 53b)ḥ)

adya kāśyapagotraḥ sūryaketuvarmā[c] śrī 3 kṛṣṇaprītikāmanayā somavaṃśine pradyumnāya imāṃ candrāvatīkanyāṃ[d] sālaṅkārāṃ sampradade.

nāra.: he loke! kobara gāu, hame yajña karaba.

sarvāḥ[e]: munirāja! abaśya.

(kobala)

(cira jivī mā. pahaḍiyā. kha.)

maṃgala gāvala dhani kobara
bibāhaka gīta ehe sundara //
mili jana jata saba ehi jubati
rasa raṃga ākara jānala mati //
pika sama kae badhu gāvala
suni kahu ānanda pāvala //
jagatprakāśa nṛpa bolala
mori jiba thika cā̃daśekhara

nāra.: he pradyumna! ekhane pūrṇāhuti[f] karaba.

pradyu.: nārada! yogya.

megho varṣatu kāle tu sasyapūrṇā[g] (fol. 54a) vasuṃdharā /

brāhmaṇo nirbhayaś cāstu prajāḥ santu nirāmayāḥ //

(tila taṃḍula śarkarā[h] ghṛta sahita svāhā)

---

a sarvve b kaṃnyā- c -vartmā d -kaṃnyāṃ
e sarvvā f pūrṇṇāhuti g śasyapūrṇṇā h sarkkarā

My people, after this let us adorn Pradyumna and Candrābatī and bring them to the pavillon.

So we will do.

King Sūryaketu, deliver over [your] daughter.

King of munis, I will.

(Declaration of intent)

I, Sūryaketuvarman of the Kāśyapa clan, wishing to bring joy to Kṛṣṇa, do this day deliver [my] bejeweled daughter, Candrāvatī, over to Pradyumna of the lunar race.

People, sing kobara [songs].[95] I'll perform the sacrifice.

King of munis, yes.

(Kobara [song])
(...)
The bridal hall have women sung of for blessing;
Lovely are these wedding songs.
All these young girls, having met so many men,
Learned a mine of love's pleasures in thought (?).
The bride made song like a cuckoo;
He who heard [her] found joy.
[Thus] said King Jagatprakāśa.
Cāndaśekhara is my life.

Pradyumna, now I'll perform the full-ladle offering.

Nārada, ['tis] well.

Let clouds send rain in due season and the earth be full of grain;
Let brahmans be unfearing and offspring untouched by disease.

(Shouts of benediction accompanied by [offerings of] sesame seeds, rice, sugar and clarified butter.)

he loke! khana eka biśrāma karaba.
sarve[a]: munirāja! ucita.
(biśrāma)
kṛ.: he pradyumna! hama saba paśupati darśana kae kaumārīka sthāna jāe rahaba, toha loka prātaḥkāla āu.

pradyu.: pitā! je ājñā, hamara praṇāma.
(kṛṣṇādi daba. piṃ)
(pratha.)
kṛ.: he loke! kaumārī sthāna jāeba, calu.
sarve[a]: īśvara! bijaya karu.
(dvitī.)
nā.: he īśvara! je nimitte ayalāha se kārya bhela, ataḥpara hame brahmaloka jāeba.
kṛ.: munirāja! bijaya karu, hamara praṇāma.
(nāra. da. piṃ)
sarve[a]: he parameśvara! torita bijaya ka(fol. 54b)ru,
kṛ.: loke! calu.
pradyu.: he priye caṃdrābati he priye prabhābati! toha duhuka rūpa dekhi mana sthairya nahi, tẽ kichu kahaba, sunu.

ubhe: prāṇanātha! ājñā karu.
(pradyumnokti śṛṃgāra)
(kāphī. co.)
kanaka kalaśa juga urasi birāje
sehi nikaṭa kara rākhaba bahu kāje //

---

[a] sarvve

My people, let us rest awhile.

King of munis, gladly.

(They pause.)

Pradyumna, we all will go visit Paśupati and [then] go stay [awhile] at the place of Kaumārī. You come [on behind] in the early morning.

Father, as you command. My obeisance.

(Kṛṣṇa etc. exit from the stage.)

(In the first corner)

My people, let us go to the place of Kaumārī.

Lord, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord, what I came for has been done. After this I will go to Brahmaloka.

King of munis, it please you to go. My obeisance.

(Nārada exits from the stage.)

Supreme Lord, it please you to go quickly.

My people, come.

Dear Candrābatī, dear Prabhābatī, when I see the beauty of you two, my mind is unsteady. I would like, then, to say something.

Listen.

Lord of [my] life, speak.

> (Love [song], rendered by Pradyumna)
>
> (...)
>
> Pairs of golden pitchers are shining on [your] breasts;
> I'll lay my hands on them..?..[96]

adhara suraṅga bimba komala deha

āliṅgana daya dhani karaha sineha //
nayana aṃjana dela bhauha bilāsa
hasi hasi hama saño karie ulāsa //
jagataprakāśa kaha hṛdi guṇa sāra

cā̃daśekhara mori prema bhaṃḍāra //

he priye! hamara pūrba[a] janmaka tapasyāka phale toha duhu strī pāvala.

ubhe: he prāṇanātha! ihāña trailokya madhya sundara, ehana kī kahaichalā, hamahu kichu binatī karaba, se sunala hoa.

pradyu.: priye! kahu.

(prabhābatīcaṃdrābatyukti śṛṃgā(fol. 55a)ra)
(kedāra mālava. co.)
pahu parasāda kara prāṇi raha jābe
sehi eka abhimata hama dhani pāve //
sahajahi abalā alapa geyāna
toha pae gati thika kehu nahi āna //
baraṇi na pāraba toha rasa rūpe
bacana sudhārasa puralahu kūpe //
jagataprakāśa nṛpa rasahi śṛṃgāra
cā̃daśekharasiṃha mori moti hāra //

he prāṇanātha! ihāña kalā nidhāna kataeka kahaba.

---

[a] pūrbba

[Your] lips are brightly colored bimba [fruits];
soft are [your] bodies.
Embrace [me], women, make love [to me].
Eye salve has given charm to [your] brows.
Laughing, ever laughing, have your pleasure with me.
[Thus] describes Jagatprakāśa the essence of the heart's
excellencies.
Cāndaśekhara is the treasure house of my love.

Dear ones, I have obtained you two women as the fruit of austerities in my former life.

Lord of [my] life, in the three worlds you're the comeliest.

Why have you spoken so? We would like to say something too.

Kindly listen.

Dear ones, speak.

(Love [song], rendered by Prabhābatī and Candrābatī)
(...)
Show [us], lord, your favor so long you live;
This is the one wish that we women have.
By nature are [we] women not so smart.
You alone are [our] refuge and no other.
Your loving and beauty we'll not manage to describe,
[Even] when with ambrosian words a well we've filled.
[Thus describes] Jagatprakāśa love's temper.
Cāndaśekharasiṃha is my pearl necklace.

Lord of [my] life, you are [so] rich in beauty;[97] how much we could say [about it]!

pradyu.: he priyā loke! muhūrta[a] eka biśrāma karaba.

ubhe: prāṇaballabha! yogya.

(biśrāma)

pradyu.: he priyā loke! pitāka baṃdana karaya jāyaba.

ubhe: prabhu! je ichā.

(nissāra)

(alapa bayasa mā. rājavijaya. pra.)

kāmini ra(fol. 55b)tana juga pāora hāthe
tahni laya jāeba nija ghara sāthe //

(pratha.)

pradyu.: he priye! torāya calu.

ubhe: prāṇanātha! bijaya karu.

(dvitī.)

ubhe: he prāṇanātha! śīghra bijaya karu.

pradyu.: priye! calu.

lu 24

(rukmi. satyabhā. pai. duṃ)

(dhanāśrī. co.)

prabhu hari kahiyā ābaya samāje
tahni dekhaeke hame jāeba āje //

(pratha.)

rukmi.: he satyabhāmā! dhabalā gṛha jāe prāṇanātha dekhi rahaba.

satya.: rukminī! calu.

(dvitī.)

---

[a] muhūrtta

Dear ones, we'll rest awhile.

Dearest, ['tis] well.

(They pause.)

Dear ones, let us go offer [my] father [our] obeisance.

Lord, as you wish.

(Exit [song])

(...)

A pair of jewels, loving women, came into my hands.
I'll take them along back home.

(In the first corner)

Dear ones, let us make haste.

Lord of [my] life, it please you to proceed.

(In the second corner)

Lord of [my] life, it please you to go quickly.

Dear ones, come.

[End of] Scene 24

(Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā enter with an entrance [song].)

(...)

When will [our] lord Hari come [back] to our communion?
Let's go watch for him today.

(In the first corner)

Satyabhāmā, let us go to tḥe upper floor [of the palace] and remain on watch for the lord of [our] life.

Rukmiṇī, come.

(In the second corner)

satya.: he rukminī! abilaṃbe bijaya karu.

rukmi.: satyabhāmā! calu.

rukmi.: he satyabhāmā! jāba dhari parameśvara nahi abate tāba dhari ehi thāba rahaba.

satya.: ru(fol. 56a)kminī! yogya.

(biśrāma)

(khava kunasa paśupati java kunasa kumārī taya.)

(kṛṣṇādi da. duṃ)

(pratha.)

he loke! ehi paśupati darśana karaba.

sarve[a]: hamarahu ehe mana.

namas tasmai trinetrāya triguṇāya trimūrtaye[b] /
jñānāgamyasvarūpāya[c] śivāya paramātmane //

he paśupati! hamara sāṣṭāṅga praṇāma.

kṛ.: he loke! pradyumna ābata, ehi paśupati sthāna rahaba.

sarve[a]: parameśvara! ucita

(pradyu. daba. duṃ)

he tāta! hamara praṇāma.

kṛ.: manaskāmanāsiddhir[d] astu.

he putra! paśupati darśana karu.

pradyu.: pitā! abaśya.

he loke! bāta kumārīka darśana kae dvārikā calu.

---

a sarvve b trimūrttaye c jñānagamya- d manakāmanā-

Rukmiṇī, it please you to go without delay.

Satyabhāmā, come.

Satyabhāmā, we'll remain in this place until [our] Supreme Lord comes.

Rukmiṇī, ['tis] well.

(They pause.)

(In the left corner Paśupati is set up, and in the right Kumārī.)

(Kṛṣṇa etc. enter on stage.)

(In the first corner)

My people, let us visit Paśupati.

This is our mind too.

> Homage to him of three eyes, three guṇas, three forms,
> Whose nature knowledge cannot reach,[98] the sovereign self
> Śiva.

Paśupati, we bow down our whole body.

My people, Pradyumna will be coming. Let us remain [here] at the place of Paśupati.

Supreme Lord, gladly.

(Pradyumna enters on stage.)

Father, my obeisance.

May [your] heart's desires be fulfilled.

My son, go visit Paśupati.

Father, certainly.

My people, on the way let's pay a visit to Kumārī and [only then] go on to Dvārikā.

sarve[a]: īśvara bijaya karu.

(fol. 56b) (kumārī darśana)

kṛ.: he loke! ehi kumārī darśana karu.

sarve[a]: parameśvara! sehe karaba.

(tipana pūjā)

raktāmbarā sā varaśaktihastā
vaidūryamuktāmaṇiśobhamānā /
bhaktānukampā[b] tridaśeśvareśī
tasyai kumāryai[c] satataṃ namas te //

he parameśvarī! hamara sāṣṭāṅga praṇāma.

(dvitī.)

pradyu.: he tāta! dvārikā bijaya karu.

kṛ.: putra! calu.

kṛ.: he priye!

ubhe: he prāṇanātha! hamara praṇāma.

pradyu. 3: he janani! hamara praṇāma.

ubhe: he īśvara! ehi āsane bijaya karu.

kṛ.: priye! abaśya.

he priye! ī prabhābatī ī caṃdrābatī pradyumna saño bibāha kaya laya ānala.

rukmi.: hamara bhāgya.

he pu(fol. 57a)tra he putahu! etaya āu.

pradyu. 3: mātā! abaśya.

(biśrāma)

kṛ.: he sūryaketu rājā! ī saṃsāra madhye sāra padārtha mahādeba, takara bhajana karaba.

---

a sarvve   b -kaṃpā   c kumāryyai

Lord, it please you to proceed.

(Visit to Kumārī)

My people, let us visit Kumārī.

Supreme Lord, that we will do.

(Ceremony of worship to the blowing of the poṃgā)

Dressed in red, in hand the best of spears,
She shines with lazuli, pearls and jewels,
Well-disposed to devotees, lady over the thirty lords.
To you, Kumārī, be homage eternal.

O Supreme Goddess, we bow down our entire body.

(In the second corner)

Father, it please you to proceed on to Dvārikā.

Come, my son.

Dear ones!

Lord of [my] life, my obeisance.

Mother, my obeisance.

Lord, it please you to sit down here.

Dear ones, certainly.

Dear ones, this is Prabhābatī and this is Candrābatī. They have been married to Pradyumna and brought [here].

[That's] our good fortune.

My son, my daughters-in-law, come here.

Mother, certainly.

(They pause.)

King Sūryaketu, in this world the essence of things is Mahādeba. Let us honor him.

sūrya.: parameśvara! yukti.
(kedārā. kha.)
būdha basaha para caḍhi kahu caralaha
basaha ālase dhire dhire
basana naḍāvala digahi aṃbala bhela
nīlakaṃṭhaka gara nīre //
bibhutika jholi dhari lāvala[99] jata tanu
balaya bhuṣaṇa tua byāla
parama prema raha tohara dhuthura phula //
gara dhara tohe muṃḍa māla //
sadana masā bhela gaurī bāma diśa
cā̃da tilaka bhala jāna
yogi sarūpa rūpa tribhubana ṭhākura
saba sebaya deba īśāna //
jagataprakāśa kara gīta śibaka sehe
punu (fol. 57b) punu māgaba ohi
cā̃daśekhara sama āna na mati para
rāti dina jhākhara[a] tohi //

pradyu.: gāvo dvijaśreṣṭhagaṇāḥ pṛthivyāṃ
bāhūdbhavā bhūdhararājavargāḥ /

deśāḥ sanāthā guṇinaḥ sakāmā

lokāḥ samasthāḥ sukhino bhavantu //
he loke! śrīśrījayajagatprakāśamalladevasya saparivārasya khaḍgasiddhir astu.

sarve[b]: tathāstu.

---

[a] jhākara
[b] sarvve

Supreme Lord, ['tis] well.

(...)

You got up on the ageing bull and off you rode;
The bull from lethargy is very slow.
All garb you've laid aside: the four quarters are your robes.
Nīlakaṇṭha's neck is blue.
With sack of ashes you've smeared your body whole.
A serpent is the ornament of your arm.
Your greatest love is for thorn apple's blossom.
Around your neck you wear a wreath of skulls.
Your seat is in the burning ground, with Gaurī at your left.
The moon's [your] forehead mark: that's known well.
By form and nature a yogi, you're lord of three worlds [too].
[As] Īśāna do all gods serve [you].
Jagatprakāśa makes this song of Śiba.
Ever and again I'll ask for him:
None comes up to Cāndaśekhara, not in [my] mind;
Day and night I've grieved for you.
May cows and throngs of noble brahmans be in the earth,
And companies of kings, sprung up from [Brahmā's] arm,
earth's keepers.
May countries have their lords, connoisseurs [of poetry]
their satisfaction,
And may all people be happy.

O people, may the swords of King Jagatprakāśamalla and his family be never-failing.

So be it.

Annotations to the text and translation of Jagatprakāśamalla's Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka

1. Also possible: "We behold your comely body."

2. The title *deba*, usually applied only to kings, appears here to be used as an expression of special honor for Cāndaśekharasiṃha.

3. In the final section of the song no rhyme occurs.

4. The goddess is evidently here worshipped as Kumārī/Kaumārī; cf. also fol. 56a.

5. The sense of *ābe* is here unclear. *ābe tua dāse* could also apply to Cāndaśekharasiṃha.

6. Also possible: "Whose eyes are like the fire of sun and moon [together]."

7. Madhyapurī, or Madhyapura (cf. fol. 3b), is a former name of Thimi, a village lying several kilometers to the west of Bhaktapur.

8. This *rājabarṇanā* is found again in a song collection from the late Malla period. The corresponding manuscript has been filmed by the NGMPP under the serial code B 286/4o and catalogued as Nānārāgagītasaṃgraha; cf. fols. 8a-b.

9. The MS. mentioned in annot. 8 also reads *manuka*; with that reading the translation would be: "So many descendants of Manu have died!"

1o. *praṇabi* is the reading of the MS. mentioned in annot. 8.

11. *sabakā* may be either an accusative or genitive form (cf. Subhadra Jha 1958, p. 3o8); the following translation is thus also possible: "To see [them] is a delight for everyone."

12. *sehe* appears in the present play throughout as an accusative form (cf. fols. 4b, 26b,3ob, 56b and 57a); Subhadra Jha (1958, p. 4o3) has *sehe* only as a nominative form.

13. Literally: "You who are dear [to me] as [my own] life."

14. *bhrātṛdamano* surely refers to Mahendradamana. But it is not clear whether here Indra is meant to be suggested as being Mahendradamana's brother (cf. the Pradyumnottara chapter of the Harivaṃśa) or as Kṛṣṇa's brother.

15. *kachini* is a strip of cloth wrapped about the thigh in a particular manner (cf. Turner 1966, s.v. 2592 *kakṣyā-*), with *kāchaba* designating the actual act of wrapping (cf. ibid.).

16. *bijaya karu* is used throughout the present drama as a polite request made to persons of higher rank to betake themselves to some other place; cf. especially *suprabhā nagara bijaya karu* (16a), *etaya bijaya karu* (16b), *ī āsane bijaya karu* (35a) and other similar examples.

17. *sahita jana* here presumably refers to Akrūra, who would otherwise remain unmentioned.

18. *surata* = "(sexual) enjoyment" would hardly be appropriate here; in her verse of introduction (6b), too, Sārikā calls herself "fair and skilled".

19. The unusual form *-viśyāmi* (instead of *-viśāmi*) has presumably been employed on account of the *indravajrā* meter.

20. *nāṭya* encompasses both drama as well as dance; the terms "play" (for *nāṭya*) and "actor" (for *naṭa*), used here and throughout, are meant to include, in the wider sense, dance and dancer.

21. The dvanda compound is uncertain; *naṭaloka-* possibly refers only to the actors. Nevertheless, in the phrase *lokarañjitakārakam* in Hemabatī's verse of introduction (12a) *loka* appears to mean the audience.

22. *jukti*, or *yukti*, occurs a number of times in the present play (again in 8b, 19b, 29b, 30a and 57a) and appears to have been used either as an adjective in the sense of *yukta* or as an adverbial form like Sanskrit *yuktyā* or *yuktitas*. In Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, by way of comparison, *yukta* is used in similar passages (*ayukta ājñā* in 8a and *yukta kahala* in 11a).

23. The present play has (as do, incidentally, Jagatprakāśamalla's and Bhūpatīndramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka) two phrases, and their variants, with *gocara* : *gocara karaba* (5b, 21a) and *gocara sunu* (9b, 12a, 14a, 21a, 21b). *gocara* here must mean something like "a declaration of one's own place in the scheme of things, of one's own role."

24. Also possible: "... the well-esteemed playhouse."

25. Does *sara* here denote Kṛṣṇ's flute? Or are Kāma's arrows, which Kṛṣṇa knows how to control, what is meant? Either would apply to the following verse.

26. Or perhaps: "[Thus] says Prakāśa, the hope of Cāndaśekhara."

27. Along with this form of the imperative of respect *dioa* the MS. also has the following similar forms with the same function: *diyo* (17b, 18b, 24a, 27b, 29a, 43b), *diao* (49b) and *dioba* (28a); cf. further the partially corresponding forms of *le-*: *liyo* (17a, 29a, 39b), *lioba* (52b, 53a) and *liaoba* (40a). Subhadra Jha (1958, p. 490) does not give any forms which correspond exactly.

28. For *jahane* the MS. has the following alternative forms: *jehane* (30b), *jahene* (45b, in 45a with its correlative form *tahene*) and *jehena* (36a with correlative form *tehena*).

29. The MS. has by mistake *uddhaba akrūra* instead of *pradyumna*.

30. The translation of this line is uncertain. I suspect that here *mori*, rather than being a form of the personal pronoun of the first person, is a verbal form of *mor-/moḍ-* = "turn around, turn towards" (cf. Hindi *moḍnā/mornā*). Cf. the form *moro* in fol. 44a.

31. *hīra* = "diamond" is here presumably used for *ratna* (in the sense of *strīratna*).

32. *tohe* is perhaps best explained as an aberratio occuli. *mohe* = "you baffle" would fit well the present context.

33. *bhakta* in the sense of *bhakti* is found in a total of three other places in the Maithili text of the present play (15a, 24b, 52b); cf. below annot. 42.

34. On the modal auxiliary verb *būjh* (in the sense of "ought") cf. Subhadra Jha 1958, § 739.

35. The translation of *jāe biśarāma* is uncertain.

36. Cf. below annot. 52.

37. *karu* must here refer to the first person, so that the correct reading is *karū*. The same is true of many other places in the play.

38. *hoyichia* must here be a form of the third person. According to Grierson (1909, § 214-218) *chia* can be used only for the first and second persons, but Subhadra Jha (1958, § 711) offers two examples for the third person from Jyotirīśvara's Varṇaratnākara.

39. *kichuvana* is unclear and has been left out of the translation. It may correspond possibly to *kichuo na* in fol. 24a, but in that case there would be one negation too many in the present passage.

4o. A negational element appears to have been omitted from the text.

41. *sanakaiḥ saha* appears to be used in the sense of *sanakādibhiḥ saha*.

42. *bhakta* should here, as in fols. 24b and 52b, most likely be taken in the sense of *bhakti* (cf. also fol. 8b in the Sanskrit text); the same usage also occurs three times in Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka (on pages 65 and 66 in the text edition of Lekhanath Mishra). Elsewhere in the present play *bhakta* (for "devotee") and *bhakti/bhagati* (for "devotion") are used correctly.

43. *guṇaugha* could also be understood as a bahuvrīhi compound; then the translation would be: "you who give freely to those of many excellencies."

44. *mohi* as a nominative form of the personal pronoun of the first person is not found in Subhadra Jha (1958, § 595), but Jha has *tohi* as a nominative form of the second person (§ 6o1D).

45. *ehi* is not suitable here. Either *etahi* or *ehi thāba* must be the reading; cf. like expressions in 28b, 51b and 55b.

46. Cf. annot. 34; in Jagatprakāśamalla's Madanacaritranāṭaka (NGMPP No. C 28/14) I found: *ehane karaya bujhia*.

47. Also possible: "Now, O lord, from the granting of your wish [even] they bow their heads who ..."

48. Literally: "What will not become [fact] thanks to your kindness?"

49. This must have been the original reading of the text of the MS. following *dvitī*. But since this was probably an unintentional repetition of what preceded, an unsuccessful attempt was made to improve upon the text: In the last line *śiṣya* was replaced by *śukra* and *guru* by *śiṣya*. The resulting text line (*śukra: śiṣya! bijaya karu*) is not possible, however, as the phrase *bijaya karu* is addressed exclusivly to persons of higher standing.

5o. Cf. annot. 34 and 46.

51. Cf. Grierson 1882, s.v. *soti*: "the highest caste of Mithila Brahmans"; cf. Turner 1966, s.v. *śrotriya-*.

52. I have not found *vāsu/bāsu* in the dictionaries of New Indo-Aryan languages I consulted. Sanskrit dictionaries (such as Monier-Williams 1974 and Böhtlingk 1959) have only the feminine form *vāsū* = 'girl'. According to native Sanskrit lexicographers (cf. e.g. Amarakośa I,7, 14) the word is peculiar to drama. I therefore tentatively translate *bāsu/vāsu* as "lad".

53. The MS. reads: *he bahbāśī he bāsu*. But since Nārada has only one student (cf. annot. 54), the second *he* should be deleted.

54. The MS. twice reads *ubhau*, for which I have substituted in each case *bāsu*. In the passage that follows only one student of Nārada's is introduced, and, correspondingly, in the whole of the play Nārada is always accompanied by only one student.

55. The entire song was evidently introduced into the MS. at some subsequent period in a space left open for it.

56. *-śālam* (instead of *-śālām*) is most probably conditioned by the *rathoddhatā* meter.

57. The MS. erroneously has *sarvve*; Sūryaketu, however, is obviously the one speaking here.

58. The form *haute* (here and in fol. 42b) is unclear.

59. I suspect that both *lahu lahu* and metathetic *halu halu* are to be rendered as "quickly". In Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka *lahu lahu* occurs in two places in the sense of "quickly" (in the text edition of Lekhanath Mishra on pages 16 and 29). To be sure, in the present case the following would also make sense: "Bring [her] slowly [on behind]" and "Princess, it please you to come quickly." On *lahu* and *halu* cf. in particular Turner 1966, s.v. *laghu*.

6o. The MS. erroneously has *prabhā.*; clearly, however, it is Gaurī who speaks.

61. The MS. erroneously has *gaurī*; *prabhābatī* should be the reading.

62. *torā* is presumably used here in place of normal *torāya/torāña*.

63. *ṭeka* and *dhru* (for *dhruva*) in the present play appear to me to designate two kinds of refrains. *dhru* regularly occurs when the refrain takes up an entire line of a song; *ṭeka*, on the contrary,

occurs in cases of particularly short refrains. Apart from the present passage cf. also in 32b and 41a. Cf. further the text edition of Jagatprakāśamalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka, p. 50.

64. Why the causative form *hayake* (instead of the base form *haya*) is used here is not clear to me.

65. Here one would sooner expect *jhākana* than *tipana*, unless a *tipa* happened to play a part in Mahendradamana's tactics of deception.

66. Only one line of the song is reproduced in the text, and information on the *rāga* and *tāla* is also missing, there being a gap in the MS. both before and after the single line of the song.

67. Cf. the similarity in content and language to the following line of the song in fol. 44b: *rati rasa para prabhu paṃḍita jāne*.

68. On the term *daṇḍaka* cf. above p. 132a, ftn. 255.

69. I read *nīta* in place of *anīta*, referring in support to two parallel passages: In Jagatprakāśamalla's Nalīyanāṭaka (fol. 17a of the manuscript filmed by the NGMPP under serial code B 275/7) as well as in the Gītapañcaka (fol. 11a of MS B 285/21; cf. above ftn. 246 ,) one finds *cā̃daśekhara binu sabe gela nīta*.

70. The MS. has *parameśvara*, which does not suit Nārada.

71. On *duṃhā* cf. above p. 167 , ftn. 18.

72. Perhaps what is meant is: "Rāhu swallows me," but neither the imegery nor the meaning of the entire line is clear to me.

73. The meaning of this phrase is vague.

74. *mo* cannot be made out clearly. I suspect that *bo-* was erroneously written at first (cf. the following word *bola*) and subsequently corrected to *mo-*.

75. The future form of the third person is here inappropriate. On the verb itself cf. Grierson 1882, s.v. *biāha*.

76. Candrābatī here appears to be called *rāṇi* for the sake of rhyme.

77. Cf. in the Bṛhat Hindī Kośa, s.v. *kuṭanapana* etc.: *jhagaṛā lagānekā kāma*.

78. For *jāni hala* cf. Subhadra Jha 1958, § 728.

79. *pradyumna kāya* is presumably an allusion to the Yādava's song of introduction in fol. 4b: *madana sarūpa thika paradumna kāya*.

8o. The Sanskriṭ verse corresponds word for word to NepM IX, 31.

81. The form *hoobay* is not clear.

82. The two Sanskrit verses correspond word for word to NepM IX, 6o-61.

83. The conjunction *jahiyā* is out of place in the context of the absolutive construction with *suni*.

84. Or perhaps: "You have youthful verve and a passing fair body."

85. *bhatarāhi* I have not found in any dictionary, and I render it tentatively as "hag". The whole line could also be translated: "Fie, fie, hag! Childless one, get away!"

86. *khesaṃ* is uncertain; cf. Nevārīgītimañjarī, ed. by S. Lienhard, Glossary s.v. *chake* and *nikhe*. But one may venture the following conjecture: By a minor graphic alternation one could correct *nehmāna khesaṃ* to *nehma nikhesaṃ*, and then the translation would be: "The two remain on both sides [of the stage]."

87. *pārata* and the following *pāraba* appear to belong to two different verbs. For *pārata* cf. Turner 1966, s.v. *pārayati* and for *pāraba* cf. Turner, ibid., s.v. *pātayati*.

88. One would expect this line to occur directly before the following song; it is striking that this phrase twice appears in the wrong place (fol. 47a and 47b).

89. The information relating to the *rāga* and *tāla* of the following song is missing, there being a small gap in the MS. for it.

9o. The speaker's identity is not revealed, though it is obviously Prabhābatī, who here in turn greets Pradyumna.

91. Information received orally from Govinda Jha, Patna: *nebacha = neocha = nihucha* = "to greet respectfully, welcome with words of blessing".

92. Possibly *pādya* is to be read instead of *bādya*, as this would be more in keeping with the greeting ceremony for Kṛṣṇa which follows.

93. Cf. above annot. 42.

94. In connection with this conjecture cf. the following line of the song in fol. 11b: *sehi deha mori hṛdi hāra*.

95. For *kobara* cf. Grierson 1882, s.v. *kohabara*: "a bridal chamber"; for greater detail cf. Fifty Bhojpuri Folksongs from Ballia District, ed. by J. Hertig-Skalická, 1974, p. 116.

96. I have not been able to make any sense out of *bahu kāje*.

97. Or is *kalā nidhāna* = *kalānidhi* = "moon" what is meant?

98. Translated with the conjecture: *jñānāgamya-* in place of *jñānagamya-*.

99. *lāvala*: according to Subhadra Jha 1958, § 670 IId(i) and § 680 *lāola* is the form of the perfect participle of the root *lā-* (= "bring; use; put on"), and this would suit the present context well. As a concrete example from literature (Bidyāpati), on the contrary, Jha offers the form *laelāhu* (p. 506), in other words with an *e-* instead of an *o-*infix! Grierson, too, in his Maithilī Vocabulary (1882, s.v. *lā-*) as well as in his index to Manbodh's Haribans (1884, p. 68), gives exclusively forms such as *lāela*, *laila* and the like.

APPENDIX II

Text and translation of the role of Nārada in Bengali from Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

In comparison to the number of known Nepalese dramas written in Maithili during the late Malla period the number of those discovered to date written in Bengali is rather modest. Apart from both, however, there is a series of plays composed partly in Maithili and partly in Bengali.[1] Secondary literature dealing with the history of Nepalese drama is not always entirely reliable as to whether and to what extent individual works were written in Maithili or in Bengali, especially since native authors writing about the literary history of these languages tend to categorize as many Nepalese plays as possible as belonging to their own language.[2] Be that as it may, it is the Maithila Jayakanta Mishra who up to now has offered the most comprehensive listing of plays from Nepal written in either Bengali or in Maithili and Bengali.[3] Reference has already been made above[4] to three Bengali plays from Nepal published to date.

I have nowhere found any mention of Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka. The sole manuscript of this play known to me contains nothing but the text of Nārada's role in Bengali. Whether Indramalla wrote his Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka entirely in Bengali or only in part, with the rest perhaps in Maithili, cannot be determined on the basis of the text of this one role.

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1. Cf. the Hariścandranṛtya (ed. by A. Conrady, 1891).
2. For example, Nanigopal Banerji published four dramas from Nepal under the title Nepāle bāṅgalā nāṭaka (1916/17). Banerji's opinion that these were Bengali plays was seconded by P. Guha-Thakurta in 193o (pp. 31ff.) and by Hemendra Nath Das Gupta in 1934 (vol. 1, pp. 158ff.), even though as early as 1922 Kumar Gangananda Sinha had noted that three of the four dramas edited by Banerji were composed in Maithili. As an example of the converse, Jayakanta Mishra laid claim to the Hariścandranṛtya mentioned in ftn. 1 for Maithili literature: "... the language ... is Maithili, sometimes mixed with Bengali and sometimes with Hindi" (1949, p. 282).
3. Jayakanta Mishra 1949, pp. 267f., 275 and 281. Later Mishra increased the list by two plays (1976, pp. 153f.).
4. Cf. above p. 114, ftn. 2oo.

The manuscript adverted to is located, under private ownership, in Kathmandu, and has been filmed by the NGMPP under the serial code E 450/11. It appears in the NGMPP catalogue under the title Prabhāvatīharaṇa. It is a *thyāsaphu* manuscript comprising twenty-two joined leaves and having the dimensions 17.4 x 6.8 cm. As is customary in the case of *thyāsaphu* manuscripts, the leaves lack any pagination. I have therefore marked the coverleaf with 0, numerated the following double leaves as they appear when flipped upwards as 1a,b, 2a,b etc. to 11a,b consecutively, given the backside of the manuscript page number 12 and continued counting the double leaves on the reverse side as 13a,b etc. to 17a,b.[5]

The Bengali text reproduced below fills up only part of the leaves of the manuscript. This part of the manuscript is written in an accurate Newari script: The leaves were evidently first lined, and then the akṣaras carefully and evenly penned in. This applies both to what appears on the title page (*nāradayā*, fol. 0) and to the text of Nārada's role on pages 1b to 10a.[6] From the middle of the second line of fol. 10a the script changes markedly; the manuscript was obviously taken up by another hand - this time without the previous lineation - exhibiting a relatively slovenly and uneven Newari script, in which Devanāgarī akṣaras now and then appear. The text, terminated abruptly on p. 10a, is supplemented in this script by a sentence in Bengali and a verse in Sanskrit, and rounded out finally by a colophon in Newari. This part of the manuscript will also be reproduced below. Pages 1a,[6] lines 4-7 of page 7b,[7] and pages 10b-17b are for the most part filled with Sanskrit stotras to Viṣṇu and Śiva in a similarly lax Newari script. These latter keep to generalities to such an extent that it is not possible to tell whether or not they should be treated as a part of Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka. They therefore are not further considered.

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[5] The remaining double leaves 18a,b to 22a,b were evidently not written upon and were therefore not filmed.

[6] Cf. the photographic reproduction of pages 1a-b of the MS. at the end of this introduction.

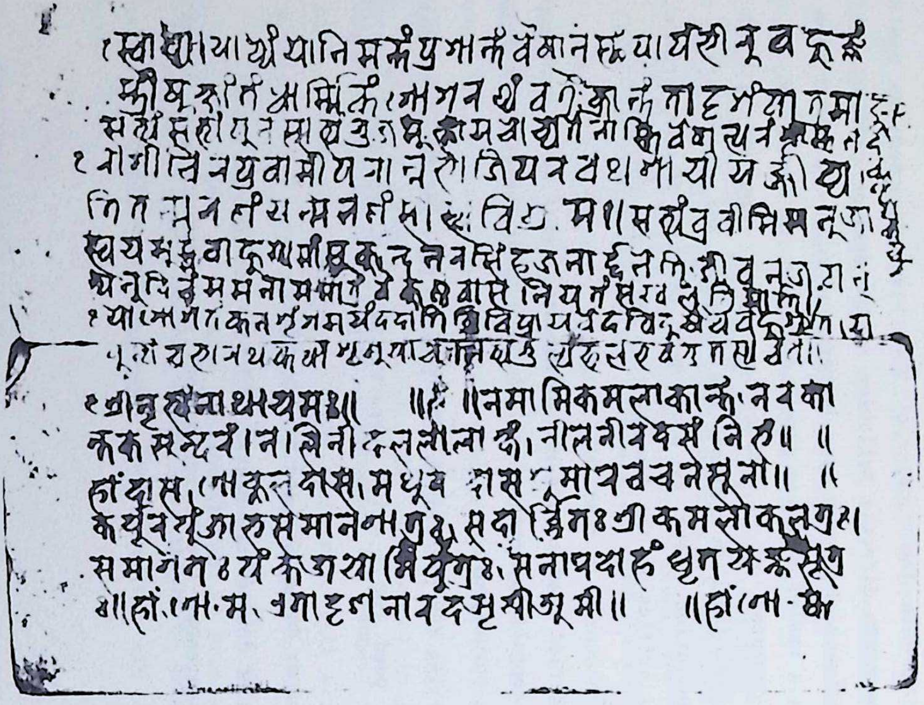
[7] The end of the fourth act of the play is announced in the third line. The rest of the page was at first evidently left blank.

The text of Nārada's role is reproduced below to conform to the manuscript, and has been provided with a translation along with grammatical and philological annotations. The Newari script has been transliterated into the Latin alphabet. Additions to the text are placed in brackets; uncertain and illegible parts of the text which have been reconstructed with the help of the context are identified by means of braces. Obvious orthographic mistakes in the manuscript have been corrected, as has the gemination of consonants directly following *r*; the deviant readings of the manuscript are indicated by lower-case letters and appear at the bottom of the same page. In a number of cases peculiarities in the orthography of the manuscript are commented on in annotations, which, together with those grammatical or philological in content, are numerated and placed at the end of text and translation. Note is made here briefly of the following orthographic peculiarities in the Bengali text which are not normalized in the transcription:

- In the manuscript *b* and *v* are not differentiated; I write *b* throughout in the Bengali sentences (the sole exception: the ligature *śv* in, for example, *parameśvara*);
- At times *r* takes the place of *l*: e.g. *thākiro* (4a) and *dorāgiri* (4b);
- *ī* and *ū* are used for *i* and *u* respectively: e.g. *ṛṣī* (1b) and *ājū* (5b, 7a);
- *ś* appears for *s*: *śāmba* (7a) and *baiśibo* (7a);
- Degemination of double consonants: *ichā* (4b) and *kachapa* (8b).

In the Sanskrit sentences I make corrections in conformity with Sanskrit orthography.

Double leaves 1a-b of the manuscript of the text of Nārada's role from Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka



TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Text

(fol. o) nāradayā

(fol. 1b) śrī nṛtyanāthāya [na]maḥ

namāmi kamalākāntaṃ narakāntakasundaram[a] /
nalinīdalalolākṣaṃ nīlanīradasaṃnibham[b] //

hā̃ dāsa gokuladāsa mathurādāsa! amāra[1] bacana suno.

karpūrapuñjābhasamānagātraḥ[c]
sadārcitaḥ[d] śrīkamalākalatraḥ /
samāgataḥ paṅkajayoniputraḥ[e]
sa nārado 'haṃ dhṛtayajñasūtraḥ //

hā̃ go. ma.! etādṛśa nārada ṛṣī amī[1].

hā̃ go.! ka[4](fol. 2a)ho.

hā̃ go.! satya.

hā̃ ma.! kaho.

hā̃ ma.! satya.

hā̃ go. ma.! suprabhā nagara[f] biṣe[5] mahendradamana daityera bhaginī prabhābatī debī āche. tathā jāyabo, calo.

hā̃ go. ma.! bhāla 2[6], abaśya jāyabo, calo.

lu 1

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[a] -sundaraṃ
[b] -saṃnibhaṃ
[c] -puṃjābha-
[d] sadārccitaḥ
[e] paṃkaja-
[f] naragara

Translation

[The text of] Nārada's [role]

Homage to the lord of dance.

To Kamalā's (= Lakṣmī's) husband I pay homage, Naraka's slayer and
comely,
Whose eyes like lotus leaves play, and who is like a dark cloud.

My servants Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa! Hear my words!

Whose body is like him with the sheen of camphor massed:[2]
As such ever honored, and as Śrīkamalā's companion,[3]
Have I come, son of lotus-born Brahmā,
Nārada, bearer of the sacrificial thread.

Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, such am I, the ṛṣi Nārada.

Gokuladāsa, speak.

Gokuladāsa, in truth.

Mathurādāsa, speak.

Mathurādāsa, in truth.

Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, in the city of Suprabhā is the princess Prabhābatī, sister of the Daitya Mahendradamana. Come, let us go there.

Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, good, good; we will go there [now] of course. Come.

[End of] Scene 1

hā̃ prabhābatī debī candrabatī debī! manovāñchāphalam[a] astu.

hā̃ prabhābatī (debī)[7]! bhāla 2.

hā̃ prabhābatī [debī] candrabatī debī! amāra bacana suno.

ślo.[8]

vinā devyāḥ prasādaṃ ca na labhyate tad īpsitam[b] /
yoginām a(fol. 2b)pi siddhānām anyeṣāṃ ca sute kimu //

ataḥ pūrvottare[c] bhāge vāgmatīprabhave girau /

tatrārādhaya devīṃ tvaṃ sā dāsyati tavepsitam[d] //

hā̃ prabhābatī debī candrabatī debī! binā parameśvarī bhabānīra prasādate manobāṃchāphala nā haibe. ehī[9] bāgmatīra utpattisthāna parbata[e] biṣe parameśvarī bhabānī ārādhanā karo. abaśya tumāra kārya[f] siddha haibe. āra ehī bāgma(fol. 3a)tī gaṃgā prāpta haibe.

hā̃ pra. caṃ.! akhane amī tīrtha bhramana karite jāyabo.

hā̃ go. ma.! ekhane parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa pradyumna tīrthajātrā ka(riyā bāgmatī biṣe thākilo)[10]. tathā jāyabo, calo.

lu 2

duṣṭe jane patatu te bhrūkuṭīkaṭākṣo[g]
bhakte[12] jane patatu te karuṇākaṭākṣaḥ /
dīne jane patatu te sadayā[r]dracittaṃ[h]
śatrau jane tava śarāḥ satataṃ patantu[i] //

hā̃ parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa balabhadra pradyumna! (fol. 3b) manovāñchāphalam astu[13].

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a -vāṃchā-

b ipsitaṃ

c pūrvvo-

d tavepsitaṃ

e parbbata

f kāryya

g bhru-

h -cittaḥ

i pataṃtu

Princess Prabhābatī, Princess Candrabatī, may [your] hearts' desires be fulfilled.

Princess Prabhābatī, good, good.

Princess Prabhābatī, Princess Candrabatī, hear my words.

[Sanskrit] verses:

Without the grace of the goddess is even the wish of yogis
Not gained who've reached their goal, and how much less,
O daughter, of others.
Worship, therefore, on the northeast mount, from where the Vāgmatī
flows,
The goddess: She will grant your wish.

Princess Prabhābatī, Princess Candrabatī, without the grace of the supreme goddess Bhabānī the heart's desires are not fulfilled. Pay worship to the supreme goddess Bhabānī on the mountain on which the Bāgmatī arises. What there is for you to do will surely be successful [then]. And the Bāgmatī will [then] reach the Gangā.

Prabhābatī, Candrabatī, I'll now go visit the places of pilgrimage.

Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, the supreme lord Kṛṣṇa and Pradyumna are on a pilgrimage and at present are staying by the Bāgmatī.[11]

Come, let us go there.

[End of] Scene 2

Let on wicked men your glance with frowning fall,
Let on devoted men your glance with mercy fall,
Let on the wretched fall your thought both kind and tender,
Let on the foes your arrows fall forever.

O supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, Balabhadra, Pradyumna, may [your] hearts' wishes be fulfilled.

hā̃ parame.[14]! je ājñā.

hā̃ parame. 5[15]! tumī sakala tīrthajātrā kariyā amāra parama ānaṃda hailo[16]. te nimitta ẹthā āsilo[17].

(hā̃ parame. 5! bijaya karo.

hā̃ pradyumna! ethā āyaso.)[18]

hā̃ parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! amāra bacana abadhāna karo.

ślo.[19]

bhagavan[2o] puṇḍarīkākṣa sūryaketur narādhipaḥ[a] /
bahukālaṃ sthitas tatra svargagamanakāṅkṣayā[b] //
sā rājño duhitā devī pradyumnāya prakalpitā /
nāmnā candrava(fol. 4a)tī khyātā candrabimbanibhānanā[c] //

hā̃ parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! śvetakā purī biṣe sūryaketu nāma mahārāja āche; tāra putrī caṃdrabatī atyaṃta sundarī, pradyumnake bibāha karibāra bāṃchā kariyā thākiro.

hā̃ pradyumna! amāra eka bacana abadhāna karo.

ślo.[21]

āsīt prabhāvatī nāma rājaputrī ca sundarī /
pradyumnaṃ kāṅkṣate[d] nityaṃ patitvena tapobalāt //

madhu[s]tvaṃ pūrvadehena[e] kāmaś caiva tvam eva hi /
yā mādhavī madho(fol. 4b)r bhāryā saiṣā devī prabhāvatī //

hā̃ pradyumna! pūrba[f] kāla biṣe tumī mādhaba nāma baiśya, tāra patnī mādhabī nāma; ekhane tumī pradyumna haiyā janma hailo[23] āra mādhabī suprabhā nagara biṣe daityarāja mahendradamanakā[24] bhaginī mahāsundarī prabhābatī haiyā janma hailo[23]. se prabhābatī tumī[25] svāmī

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[a] sūryyaketur nnarā-
[b] -kāṃkṣayā
[c] -bimbā-
[d] kāṃkṣate
[e] pūrvva-
[f] pūrbba

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, as you command.

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, that you have all made a pilgrimage is a supreme joy for me. For this reason I have come here.

(Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, it please you to proceed.

Pradyumna, come here.)

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, pay heed to my words.

[Sanskrit] verses:

Blessed Puṇḍarīkākṣa (= Kṛṣṇa), King Sūryaketu
Has long been staying there from a wish to go to heaven.
The daughter of the king is destined for Pradyumna:
She's called Candravatī, for her face is like moon's disc.

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, in the city of Śvetakā there is a great king called Sūryaketu. His daughter Candrabatī is passing fair and cherishes the wish to marry Pradyumna.

Pradyumna, give heed to my words.

[Sanskrit] verses:

There is[22] a comely princess, Prabhāvatī by name:
By the power of austerities she ever seeks Pradyumna
for a husband.
In a former body you were Madhu, and [in fact] you're Kāma;
Mādhavī, who was Madhu's wife, is the princess Prabhāvatī [today].

Pradyumna, in former times you were a vaiśya named Mādhaba; his wife was named Madhabī. You have now been born as Pradyumna, and in the city of Suprabhā Mādhabī has been born as the passing fair Prabhābatī, sister of the Daitya king Mahendradamana. This Prabhābatī cherishes a strong desire to make you [her] husband.

karibāra baḍa ichā kariyā thākilo. ekhane tumī prabhābatī āra candrabatī abaśya bibāhā karo.
hā̃ parame. 5! ekhane tumī dorāgiri pa(fol. 5a)rbata[a] biṣe bijaya karo.
hā̃ pradyumna! ekhane tumī parameśvarī bāgmatīke ārādhanā karo.
abaśya tumāra sarba[b] kārya[c] siddha haibe.
hā̃ pradyumna! ekhane amī sthānāntara jāyabo.
hā̃ go. ma.! ekhane nānā kautuka haibe. se[26] dekhite jāyabo, calo.

lu 3

(fol. 5b) hā̃ go. ma.! suprabhā nagara biṣe mahendradamanakā bhaginī prabhābatī haraṇa kariyā mahāduḥkha kariyā thākilo[27]. tathā jāyabo, calo.
hā̃, daityarāja[d] mahendradamana! śubhāni santu[e].
hā̃ daitya mahendradamana! sarbathā[f].
hā̃[g] mahendradamana! ājū tumāra mukha prasanna nā āche. kī manoduḥkha hailo?
hā̃ daityarāja! amāra bacana suno.

ślo.[28]
ye nartakā[h] mahārāja tavāgre samavartayan[i] /
te yādavā na saṃdehaḥ syuḥ pradyumnaḥ puraḥsaraḥ //
(fol. 6a) māyayā mohayan yuṣmān pradyumno bahu nartakaḥ /
harmyam āruhya rātrau sa jahārāśu prabhāvatī[m] //

He daityarāja! śrī kṛṣṇera putra pradyumna māyāte nṛtya kariyā rātri biṣe prabhābatī haraṇa kailo. ehī tumī niścayate jāno.

---

[a] parbbata
[b] sarbba
[c] kāryya
[d] hā̃ ma daitya-[29]
[e] saṃtu
[f] sarbbathā
[g] hā
[h] narttakā
[i] -varttayan

Without fail you should now marry Prabhābatī and Candrabatī.

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, it please you now to go to the mountain Dolāgiri.
Pradyumna, worship now the supreme goddess Bāgmatī; everything there is for you to do will [then] surely be successful.
Pradyumna, I'll now go to some other place.
Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, there'll now be sundry things of interest [to see]. Come, let's go see them.

[End of] Scene 3

Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, in the city of Suprabhā they've abducted Mahendradamana's sister Prabhābatī, and [he] is suffering great affliction. Come, let us go there.
Daitya King Mahendradamana, may it be well [with you[.
Daitya Mahendradamana, by all means.
Mahendradamana, today your face is not bright. What grief is in your heart?
O Daitya king, hear my words.

> [Sanskrit] verses:
> Those dancers, O great king, who played before you
> Were Yādavas, there is no doubt; Pradyumna was [their[head.
> Pradyumna as dancer did greatly daze you by deceit,
> In the night did mount the palace and took Prabhāvatī fast away.

Daitya king, Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna performed dances with deceit and took away Prabhābatī in the night. Know this for a fact.

he daityarāja! se parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa trailokyanātha, tumī kona prakārate jinibe? se śrī kṛ[ṣṇa] jinite nā pāre. ā{ra} eka ba[ca]na a{badh}āna karo.

ślo.[31]

maṇiṃ ca kaustubhaṃ tvaṃ taṃ ha{rtuṃ śa}knosi[32] te yadi /
tadā daśaguṇaṃ vīryo[a] bhavi(fol. 6b)ṣyati na saṃśayaḥ[33] //

he daityarāja! yadī tumī śrī kṛṣṇera kaustubha maṇī haraṇa karite {pā}ro, tābe tumāra samasta kārya siddha haibe. ehī upāya karo.

hā̃ daityarāja! ekhane amī jāyabo.
hā̃ go. ma.! ekhane nānā kautuka haibe. se dekhite jāyabo, calo.

lu 4

(fol. 7a) hā̃ go. ma.! dvārakā jāyabo, calo.
hā̃ balabhadra pradyumna śāmba! abhīṣṭāḥ siddhayaḥ santu[b].
hā̃ pradyumna! bhāla 2; abaśya baiśibo.
hā̃ pradyumna! tumī kehne nā jānilo? āju rātri biṣe mahendradamana kṛṣṇarūpa dhariyā āsiyā kaustubha maṇi prabhābatī hariyā nilo. ehī tumī niścayate jāno.
hā̃ pradyumna! dekho 2, tumāra bhāryā[c] prabhābatī āra kaustubha maṇi ha(fol. 7b)riro. parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa binā tumāra kārya siddha nā haibe. ekhane parameśvara śrī kṛ[ṣṇa] dolāgiri parbata[d] biṣe thākilo. tathā jāyabo, calo.

lu 5

iti caturthāṅka

---

[a] vīryyo[34]   [b] saṃtu   [c] bhāryyā   [d] parbbata

Daitya king, this supreme lord Kṛṣṇa is the ruler of the three worlds. What way will you defeat [him]? One cannot [simply] defeat Kṛṣṇa.[30] Give heed to some other words.

[Sanskrit] verse:

If you can seize the jewel Kaustubha,
There is no doubt your might will be ten-fold.

Daitya king, if you can seize Kṛṣṇa's jewel Kaustubha, then everything there is for you to do will be successful.

Do it this way.

Daitya king, I'll go now.

Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, there'll now be sundry things of interest [to see]. Come, let's go see them.

[End of] Scene 4

Gokuladāsa, Mathurādāsa, come, let us go to Dvārakā.

Balabhadra, Pradyumna, Śāmba, may there be the desired successes.

Pradyumna, good, good, of course I will sit down.

Pradyumna, how is it you don't know. On this day in the night Mahendradamana assumed Kṛṣṇa's form, came and took the jewel Kaustubha and Prabhābatī away. Know this for a fact.

Just look, Pradyumna, your wife Prabhābatī and the jewel Kaustubha have been taken away. Without the supreme lord Kṛṣṇa what there is for you to do will not succeed. At present the supreme lord Kṛṣṇa is on the mountain Dolāgiri. Come, let us go there.

[End of] Scene 5

[So ends] Act IV

(fol. 8a) hā̃ parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa ru. sa.! abhīṣṭāḥ siddhayaḥ santu[a].

hā̃ parame. 5! je ājñā.

hā̃ parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! mahendradamana baḍa akārya kailo. ehī kārya abaśya karite cāhe.

hā̃ parameśvara śrī {kṛṣṇa}! je tumāra ājñā.

he debarāja indra sakala deba loka! parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇera ājñā hai: tumī sakala ethą̄ āyaso.

he sakala deba lo[ka]! parameśvara 3 tumī sakala deba loka bolāilo. tathā jāyabo, (fol. 8b) calo.

he parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! bijaya karo.

lu 1

he parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! (brahmāra bacana āche:)[37] ehī mahendradamana p[r]adyumnakā hastate maraṇa haibe. tumī yuddha nā karo.

he parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! je tumāra kaustubha maṇi dhariyą̄ thākilo, se kachapāsura bāgmatī hrada jala abhyantara giyą̄ thākilo. se yadī māribe, tābe kaustu[bha] maṇi pāyibe.

he parame. 5! bijaya karo.

lu 2

he parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! ehī jala abhyantara kachapāsura thākilo.

he pa(fol. 9a) rame. 5! pamameśvara śrī mahādebera ājñā āche: bāgmatī jala biṣe māribāra yogya nā āche. bahirdhā[b] kariyā yuddha karo[39].

---

a saṃtu b bahirddha[40]

O supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā,[35] may there be the desired successes.

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, as you command.

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, Mahendradamana has done a great misdeed.

This deed he surely wants to do (?).[36]

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, as you command.

O king of gods Indra and all [other] gods, this is the command of the supreme lord Kṛṣṇa: All of you come here.

All [you] gods, the supreme lord Kṛṣṇa has summoned you gods all.

Come, let us go there.

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, it please you to proceed.

[End of] Scene 1

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, there is a decree of Brahmā's: This Mahendradamana will die by Pradyumna's hand. [So] don't you fight [against him].

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, the asura Kachapa, who is guarding your jewel Kaustubha, has gone to stay in the waters of Bāgmatī Lake. If you kill him you'll get back the Kaustubha jewel.[38]

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, it please you to proceed.

[End of] Scene 2

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, the asura Kachapa is staying in these waters.

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, there is a decree of the supreme lord Mahādeba: He cannot be killed in the waters of the Bāgmatī. Draw [him] forth and [then] fight [against him].

he parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa! bijaya karo.

lu 3

hā̃ mahārāja sūryaketu! manovāñchāphalam astu.
hā̃ mahārāja sūryaketu! ehī candrabatī debī pradyumnake yogya abaśya kanyādāna karo.
hā̃ mahārāja sūryaketu! ethā {bijaya} karo.
he pradyumna! ethā āgamana karo.
he dharmabatī[a] debī candrabatī debī! ethā āgamana karo.
(fol. 9b) he mahārāja sūryaketu! ekhane sulagna belā hailo. kanyādāna ārambha karo.
he mahā. 2! eṣane kanyā samarpaṇa[b] karo.

tithau śubhe māsi site supakṣe
    vāre śubhe satkaraṇānvite ca /
yoge śubhe 'smin divase praśaste[c]
    bhūyāc chubheyaṃ[d] suvivāhadīkṣā //

asmiñ chubhadine[e] śrīsūryaketo[42] kanyāṃ sālaṃkārāṃ candravatīṃ nāmnīṃ (fol. 1oa) śrīpradyumnāya saṃpradade.
hā̃ sūryaketu[f]! kanyādāna saṃpūrṇa[g] hailo. ekhane dakṣiṇā dāna karo.[43]

hāṃ[44] mahārāja sū[rya]ketu! ekhane yajñālambha karo.

kati na santi janā jagatītale
    tad api tvadvirahākulitaṃ[h] manaḥ /
kati na santi niśākaratārakā[ḥ][i]
    kamalinī malinī ravinā vinā //

(827 baiśākha śukla tṛtīyā, thva kü[hnu] thva bhāsā saṃphuli

---

a dharmma-
b samarppaṇa
c prasaste
d bhūyāt śubh-[2o]
e asmin śubha-[2o]
f sūryya-
g saṃpūrṇṇa
h -kulītaṃ
i -tāḍakā

Supreme lord Kṛṣṇa, it please you to proceed.

[End of] Scene 3

Great King Sūryaketu, may [your] heart's desires be fulfilled.

Great King Sūryaketu, Princess Candrabatī is worthy of Pradyumna.

You should certainly hand over [your] daughter [to him].

Great King Sūryketu, it please you to come here.

Pradyumna, come here.

Princess (?) Dharmabatī,[41] Princess Candrabatī, come here.

Great King Sūryaketu, now the opportune time has come. Commence with the handing over of [your] daughter.

Great king, deliver now [your] daughter up.

> On a timely lunar day in the bright half of the month,
> On a good day of the week well chosen [by astrologers],
> At a good conjunction: on this exalted day
> May this auspicious ceremony for a good wedding be.

On this blessed day, O Sūryaketu, [and in your name] do I deliver [your] bejeweled daughter, Candrabatī by name, over to Pradyumna.

Sūryaketu, the handing over of [your] daughter is completed. Give now the priest's reward.

Great King Sūryaketu, perform now the sacrifice.

> How many men are there not in the earth?
> Still, away from you is [my] mind shaken.
> How many [lights like] moon and stars are there not in the sky?
> Still, without the sun is a lotus pond somber.

([Today] is the third day of the bright [half of the month]

cotakakāva tayā. prabhābatīharaṇanāṭaka dayaku śrī indramalla juju, rājājuyā prathama nātaka juro. subham.)

Baiśākha [in the year] 827; on this day did [King Indramalla] have this book written in the [Bengali] language. King Indramalla composed the play Prabhābatīharaṇa. It is the king's first play. [May there be] prosperity.)

Annotations to the text and translation of the role of Nārada from Indramalla's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

1. In the forms *amī* and *amāra* the short first vowel is of note. Chatterji (1975, paras. 538-545), Mojumder (1972-73, vol. 2, pp. 207-210) and Sen (1971, s.v. *āmi* and *hāma*) cite exclusively forms with *ā-* (or *hā-*). The short first vowel in the personal pronoun of the 1st person appears to be a peculiarity of Bengali drama in Nepal: In the Hariścandranṛtya (ed. 1891), Gopīcandranāṭaka (ed. 1970) and Lalitakuvalayāśvanāṭaka (ed. 1980) are likewise found the forms *amī* and *amāra* as well as *hamī* and *hamāra* (passim).

2. The compound in pāda a is problematic. A conjecture of *-ābhāsamāna* is ruled out for reasons of meter (*upajāti*, consisting of *indravajrā* (pāda a) and *upendravajrā* (pādas b-d)). One may therefore assume that *karpūrapuñjābha-* is a bahuvrīhi compound designating someone or something of fair comlexion. It is possibly a kenning for the rising full moon. (I owe this suggestion to Dr. P. Aithal, Heidelberg).

3. By *śrīkamalā* is in all likelihood meant Lakṣmī; what is being expressed here, one presumes, is the fact that Nārada is constantly attended by happiness and success.

4. Here at first *ma* was written by mistake in the MS. (cf. *go. ma.* in the previous sentence) and subsequently corrected to *ka*.

5. The form *biṣe* is used in the present play as a postposition to convey the sense of location both in space (cf. also in fols. 2b, 3a, 4a, b, 5a, b, 7b and 9a) and time (cf. in 4b, 6a and 7a). Chatterji (1975, pp. 766ff.; in addition, vol. 3, pp. 86f.) and Mojumder (1972-73, vol. 2, pp. 197ff.) do not mention this postposition; the same is true of the dictionaries of Sen (1971) and Bandyopādhyāya (1966-67). *biṣe* as postposition occurs also in other Nepalese plays in Bengali (Hariścandranṛtya (ed. 1891), Gopīcandranāṭaka (ed. 1970) and Lalitakuvalayāśvanāṭaka (ed. 1980), passim); it thus appears to be another phenomenon peculiar to Bengali plays written in Nepal. I have up to now run across *biṣe* as a postposition in other New

Indo-Aryan languages only in older Nepali; cf. A Nepali Version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati, ed. by Th. Riccardi, 1970, p. 40.

6. The *2* after *bhāla* likely indicates the repetition of the preceding word. Numbers occurring after abbreviations, however, have a different meaning (cf. below annot. 15).

7. *debī* was added subsequently at the lower edge of fol. 2a.

8. The two Sanskrit verses agree word for word with HimKh 169, 11-12 (the sole deviation: *devyā* in pāda 11a).

9. Instead of the expected form *ehi* the MS. has throughout *ehī*.

10. Originally this sentence ended *tīrthajātrā kailo* in the MS.; *kailo* was corrected to *ka*, and the part of the sentence in parentheses added at the lower edge of fol. 2b, that is, directly above fol. 3a (*thyāsaphu*!).

11. The form *thākilo* (perfect participle) appears in a total of eight places in the present text and without exception refers to an action or state in the present, regardless of whether, as a lexical verb, it expresses a continuing presence at a particular place (fol. 3a, 7b, 8b) or, as an auxiliary verb, adds to the predicative content of the verb an actional meaning of continued duration (fol. 4a, b, 5b, 8b; for *thākā* as an auxiliary verb cf. Chatterji 1975, p. 1052, and D. Zbavitel 1970, p. 76). A. Conrady, too, with regard to the Hariścandranṛtya (ed. 1891), made reference to the fact that *thākiro* is used there with present time meaning (p. 3).

12. In the manuscript *bhakte* was later corrected to *bhaktau*.

13. Above *manovāñchāphalam astu* is found in the MS: *abhīṣṭāḥ siddhayaḥ saṃtu*, presumably meant as a correction.

14. *parame* is very likely an abbreviation for *parameśvara śrī kṛṣṇa* (but cf. the following annot. 15).

15. Here as well as in other places (fol. 3b, 4b, 8b, 9a) the MS. has *parame. 5*. I suspect that *5* represents the number of omitted syllables or akṣaras (to be read as: *-śvara śrī kṛṣṇa*). This assumption is supported by *parameśvara 3* in fol. 8a (with the substitution: *śrī kṛṣṇa*) and *mahā 2* in fol. 9b (with the substitution: *-rāja*). *parameśvara 5* in an addition to the edge of fol. 9a must be given

separate consideration (cf. annot. 39). That giving the number of omitted akṣaras was not mandatory can be seen from such abbreviations as *go. ma.* (passim) and *ru. sa.* (fol. 8a); cf. also the abbreviation *parame* without any number following, discussed in annot. 14.

16. Chatterji (1975), pp. 1oo3f.) mentions "two Indeclinable Conjunctives, or Gerunds, in Bengali, one ending in *-iyā* ..., the other in *-ile*," and asserts that "the outstanding fact is that *-ile* is conditional with reference to the same subject or different subjects, and *-iyā* is sequential with the same subject." In the present sentence, however, the absolutive form ending in *-iyā* is used with different subjects; and the same is true of another sentence in fol. 5a (cf. annot. 27). In both cases the absolutive has a causal function.

17. It is possible that the MS. has *āsiloṃ*; the anusvāra is not clearly identifiable. In any case, both forms (*-o* or *-oṃ*) are possible in the 1st person in Middle Bengali (Chatterji 1975, pp. 974-976, and Mojumder 1972-73, vol. 2, p. 262).

18. The passage placed in parentheses is crossed out in the MS.

19. The two following verses correspond word for word to HimKh 171, 3-4 (the sole deviation: *svarge gamana-* in pāda 3d).

2o. Here, as in the case of four other Sanskrit forms ending in a consonant (6a *yuṣmān*; 9b *asmin, asmin, bhūyāt*), the copyist evidently substituted for the expected virāma the device of leaving out the horizontal bar above the last consonant; *mohayan* in fol. 6a, in contrast, is written with a virāma at the end.

21. The following two verses correspond word for word to HimKh 171, 8-9.

22. *āsīt* is of note; one would expect a present tense form. Is it possible that here, where both the past and present life of Prabhāvatī is the focus of attention, the time spheres got mixed up in the mind of the author of the HimKh?

23. In the two identically constructed sentences *tumī pradyumna haiyā janma hailo* and *mādhabī ... prabhābatī haiyā janma hailo* it is likely the case that *tumī* and *mādhabī* should, as grammatical subjects, not only be taken to refer to the absolutive but also to the

predicate *janma hailo*; in fol. 8a the corresponding construction is found once again: *mahendradamana ... maraṇa haibe*.

24. *-kā* as genitive ending (cf. also in fols. 5b and 8b): Chatterji (1975, pp. 756-759) mentions for Old and Middle Bengali merely a seldom occurring form ending in *-ka*, and for modern Bengali a dialect form ending in *-kā*, which is only used for the plural, however; cf. also Mojumder 1972-73, vol. 2, pp. 179f.

25. The form *tumī*, which Chatterji (1975, paras. 546-553), Mojumder (1972-73, vol. 2, pp. 210-212) and Sen (1971, s.v. *tuma* and *tomā*) cite exclusively for the nominative, is used here (and in fol. 8a) for the accusative as well (cf. the use of *se*, annot. 26).

26. The form *se*, which Chatterji (1975, paras. 554-564) and Mojumder (1972-73, vol. 2, pp. 217 and 219) cite exclusively for the nominative, is here (and in fols. 6a, b, 8b) used for the accusative as well. To be sure, Chatterji points out that in the Caryāpadas the form *so* (= *se*) occurs both as a nominative and an accusative (para. 562). Cf. the use of *tumī*, annot. 25.

27. On the construction of this sentence cf. annot. 16.

28. The two following verses agree largely word for word with HimKh 174,6 and 8.

29. *ma* was here no doubt written by mistake (as the beginning of the following name), and should be deleted.

30. Postulating a sentence with "one" is less problematic than one with a passive construction requiring a "disguised" (Chatterji) form in *-e* (cf. Chatterji 1975, para. 657, and Mojumder 1972-73, vol. 2, pp. 271f.). I owe this observation to R. P. Das, Hamburg.

31. The following verse agrees almost word for word with HimKh 174,27 (cf. annots. 32-34).

32. The missing part of the text has been supplied by the HimKh parallel 174,27.

33. *na saṃśayaḥ* is crossed out in the MS. and above it a correction has been made: *tavāsu...*; the last akṣara in the MS. is not decipherable, though it is in all likelihood identical to the reading in HimKh 177,27d (*tavāsura*).

34. The masculine form *vīryo* is found already in the HimKh.

35. My interpretation of *ru. sa.* as an abbreviation for *rukmiṇī satyabhāmā* is only speculation, and is not supported by the HimKh.

36. The meaning of this sentence is unclear. Is Mahendradaman to be taken here as the subject, or perhaps Pradyumna? The HimKh does not get us any further.

37. The words in parentheses were subsequently added to the upper edge of fol. 8b.

38. In departure from the HimKh prototype, in the present play it is Kṛṣṇa himself who does battle against the asura Kachapa (cf. the following scene). Therefore *māribe* and *pāyibe*, which from a formal point of view could also designate the 3rd person (and hence refer here to Pradyumna), are in this case to be understood as forms of the 2nd person.

39. At the upper edge of fol. 9a the following addition to the text is found (though obviously in a different hand, with the characters executed in a relatively lax manner), which may belong at this place in the text: *hāṃ parameśvara 5! kachapāsura deṣo*. If my assumption in annot. 15 is correct, then one must here suppose that the writer of this addition to the text did not understand the principle governing the use of numbers following abbreviations. He is also likely to have been the same person as the one who continued and closed out the text of Nārada's role in fol. 10a (cf. annot. 43); apart from the similarity in handwriting, on both places *hāṃ* has been written instead of *hā̃*.

40. The Sanskrit form is *bahirdhā*, and the Middle Indo-Aryan form *bahiddhā*. I am not aware of any form ending in *-a* having developed from them in New Indo-Aryan.

41. It is not clear who is meant here by *dharmabatī debī*.

42. One is tempted to read *sūryaketuḥ* in place of *sūryaketo*, since even if Nārada speaks this sentence, he does so on behalf of Sūryaketu; cf. also Jagatprakāśamalla's *Pradyumnavijayanāṭaka*, fol. 53b.

43. The tidy script, in which the text of Nārada's role is largely written, ends here in the MS. The part of the text that follows has

clearly been made by another hand at some later time as a final addition.

44. On *hāṃ* instead of *hā̃* cf. annot. 39.

APPENDIX III:

A sample passage of text from Pratāpasiṃha's Prabhāvatīharaṇanāṭaka

In order to give at least an impression of the text of this previously discussed play, such as it has come down to us, the fourth scene of the third act has been chosen as a representative sample passage to be reproduced together with translation and annotations.

The surviving fragment of this play is again preserved in an unpaginated *thyāsaphu* manuscript. I have therefore used the same method to numerate the leaves in the manuscript of Pratāpasiṃha's play as I did in the case of the text from Indramalla's (Appendix II). The scene which follows is found accordingly in fols. 14b-15b.

Text

thana śukrācārya[a] sahita bali rājāpani kuladebatā pūjā yāta oo.

hṅathu me.
(rāga soratha. kharja[b].)
kuladeva pūjana āju jāũ //[1]
thana koṭavārana sāmagri tāla lātakāo[2] bio.

thana śukrācāryana[c] deba pūjā yāka.
śloka.
thana sakasyanaṃ pūjā yāka.
(fol. 15a) śloka.
thana indradamana pātra hile gākṣa taya.
thana indradamana daṅāo śukrācāryayā[d] lāhāta joṅāo hṅāhā oṅāo kha hlāka.
thana indradamana ukti me.
(rāga saṃkrābharaṇa. kharja[b].)
suno mere guru jī
nāma jhūṭha liyo hae // (dhru.)
agama nagariyā mānata tribhuvana
amara purandara kāhā̃ damana kiyo hae //
thana śukrokti me.
suno diti nāyaka
bhāvi na jāna tuma
aba vidhi bhaji le
indradamana diyo hae //

---

[a] śukrācāryya [b] kharjja [c] sukrācāryyana [d] śukrācāryyayā

Translation

Together with Śukrācārya come King Bali and the others to pay worship to the family god.

The former song.

(rāga, tāla)

I'll go today to worship the family god.

The chief of police prepares the implements [for the ceremony] and hands them over.

Śukrācārya performs the ceremony of worship for the god.

[Sanskrit] verse.

All perform the ceremony of worship.

[Sanskrit] verse.

In order to change the role of Indradamana[3] a curtain is drawn. Indradamana rises, takes Śukrācārya by the hand, steps forward and speaks [to him].

Song, rendered by Indradamana.

(rāga, tāla)

Hear, my honored teacher!
[My] name has become a fraud. (Refrain)
The three worlds think [Indra's] town is out of reach [for me],
[Since] where has deathless Indra ever been subdued?

Song, rendered by Śukra

Hear, O Daitya leader!
You know the future not.
Worship now Brahmā:
He gave [you the name] Indradamana.

(fol. 15b) thana śukrācārya thao āśrama oṅa.

tipa.

thana indradamana daṅāo bali rājāyāke bedā kāo.

thana indradamana tapasyā yāta oṅa.

me.

(rāga āsāvali. pratā.)

raṃgī nadiyā tīratha gelā //
pahile jāi tāta bujhāola
pāo parasi vedā bhelā //
bhanata bhūpati gayala sukha teji[a]
indradamana bali celā //[5]

thana sakalyeṃ parikṣapana[6] coṃ.

lu 4

---

[a] taji

Śukrācārya goes [back] to his own āśrama.

Blowing of the poṃgā.

Indradamana rises and takes leave from King Bali.

Indradamana goes to practice austerities.

Song.

(rāga, tāla)

Blithely he has gone to the river's place of pilgrimage.
But first to his father he went, told [him] his design,
Touched [his] feet, then took his leave.
[So] says the king. He has gone, renouncing [all] joys,
Indradamana, Bali's pupil (?).[4]

All circle[6] [the stage].

[End of] Scene 4

Annotations to the sample text passage

1. This is the first line of a song given previously in its entirety (Act III, lu 2, fol. 13a) and meant to be repeated here. The whole of the song is as follows:

   kuladeva pūjana āju jāū̃ // (dhru.)
   bhāva bhagata sẽ deva manāū̃
   vīra ajaya vara pāū̃ //

   "I'll go today to worship the family god. (Refrain)
   The god I'll win over with pious devotion.
   I'll get my wish to be an invincible hero."

2. The manuscript reads *tārātakāo*, which makes no sense.

3. Prior to this the role of Indradamana was likely to have been played by a boy, and from this point on was presumably taken over by a young man.

4. In this play Indradamana is the son of Bali. Is what is meant perhaps the notion that he has learned much from his father?

5. The language of this song seems almost like Maithili; the form *bhanata* points, however, to a Hindi dialect.

6. For *parikṣapana* cf. above p. 168.

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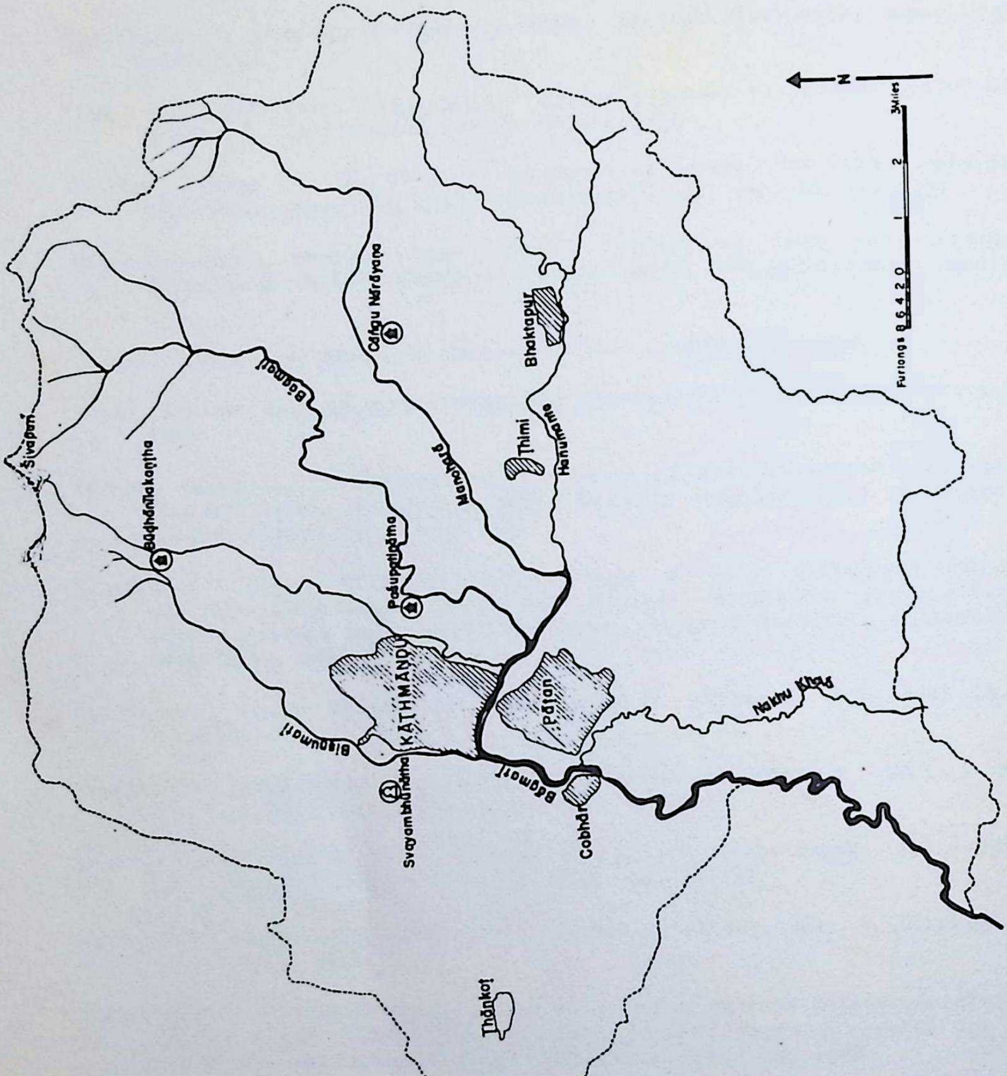
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Paśupatinātha
KĀṬHMĀṆḌU
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